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**Bikes, Trains and Problem Frames:
Framing the Little River Rail Trail**

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Masters in Applied Science (IRD)

At

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by

S.E. Brown

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Declaration

Abstract of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Masters in Applied Science (IRD)

Bikes, Trains and Problem Frames:

Framing the Little River Rail Trail

by S.E. Brown

Problem framing is an analysis that has been widely applied in the field of environmental management. It is a way of investigating the diverse ways in which different stakeholders view, or frame, a problem or issue. Moreover, a framing analysis conceptualises problems as socially constructed as well as objective realities and therefore analyses how stakeholders communicate discursively about the same issue. There are many similarities between environmental management and development management, in particular, the diverse range of involved parties, each of whom have different levels of power and different interests. For this reason, this research applies a problem framing analysis to a community development project. The project focussed on the Little River Rail Trail, which is currently being developed on Banks Peninsula. The research looked in particular at how participants talked about the Rail Trail and how this related to their particular frames of reference. Moreover, the research investigated which ‘frames’ were privileged, and which excluded, and how frames were managed by the participants. The results showed that the different participants framed the Rail Trail in very different ways. Moreover, whilst there were dominant frames that occurred across a range of participants, there were other frames that were marginalised. It was also found that participants used a range of frame management strategies in order to manage competing or oppositional frames. The framing analysis provided a useful and holistic investigation of the LRRT that was contextual and flexible enough to tolerate a high level of diversity. Thus, it indicates that the framing analysis may help development professionals to better appreciate the diversity of frames present in particular projects, issues and problems and, in particular, be more aware of the discursive power functioning within these contexts.

Key Words: Problem Framing, Issue Framing, Environmental Management, Development Management, Case Study, Social Constructionism, Little River Rail Trail, Discursive Power, Problem Management Strategies.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DOC	Department of Conservation
CMS	Conservation Management Strategy
LRRT	Little River Rail Trail
LRRT Trust	Little River Rail Trail Trust
CCC	Christchurch District Council
SDC	Selwyn District Council
LR	Little River
Mot.	Motukarara
OCRT	Otago Central Rail Trail
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme



Image 3: Distance Marker

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Development Management and Problem Framing

Development presents problems that are, in the words of Rittel and Webber (1973), “wicked”. Instead of involving just one individual or group, they tend to entail cooperation between a great variety of individuals and organizations. Instead of solutions that are straightforward, development offers complicated, expensive and ‘no win’ solutions. Unlike the daily litany of problems that are relatively self evident, development entails a raft of contested, complex, embedded and dynamic problems.

Defining developing is a difficult task, as it is framed in many different ways. It has historically been defined purely in terms of economic growth (Thomas, 1996). However, more recently it has been conceptualised in a more holistic way (Thomas, 1996), including concepts of equity and opportunity. Qizilbash (2001) notes that the UNDP and the Brundtland Commission both define development as “increases in the quality of life which are equitable”. This statement is deceptively simple, in reality, achieving development is extremely difficult, due the complex and contextual nature of poverty and inequality.

Moreover often development has been carried out in a very paternalistic way, whereas sustainable development relies heavily on partnerships and participation (Chambers & Pettit, 2004). Although these concepts form the basis for best practise in terms of development management, producing more equitable and sustainable results, they also make development much more difficult and complex. A participatory approach involves a wide range of individuals, with very different perspectives and backgrounds, and different levels of power (Chambers & Pettit, 2004). Discovering how this power functions in terms of the way in which diverse stakeholders understand the particular issue is crucial for a level of engagement that enables all of the different parties to contribute in a more equitable fashion.

This research project aimed to use a problem framing analysis to investigate the way that different groups understand the problems that development tries to solve. Looking at development as a problem solving exercise is not without its shortcomings, but it is helpful in that it highlights the way in which problems are socially constructed. Problems in the development arena are complicated and are often difficult to define and development

initiatives may be trying to achieve multiple objectives. This research looked at how problems or issues are defined by different claims makers.

Evidently, development is an area where multiple groups are involved, often with very different perspectives and interests. These groups may include development consultants, technical experts, politicians and different groups within the partner community. Each of these groups, and the individuals within them, may have different understandings of what the problem is. It must be noted that problem frames cannot be understood as fixed or static positions, but rather as a fluid and dynamic process. Furthermore, individuals within groups may exhibit differences in their claims making, or may inhabit multiple positions in their personal and professional lives. Thus, problem solving is a complex and contested process, and understanding the divergent and multifaceted claims requires an in-depth knowledge of the context.

This research aimed to recognise power relationships within and between these claims makers. Even taken at face value, it was clear from the outset that the individuals and groups in the particular context investigated by this research would have different levels of power when it came to deciding what the issue was. It was thought that understanding how this is managed at a discursive level might help to clarify the ways in which power is being contested.

1.2 Theoretical Background

The social constructionist perspective forms part of the theoretical background for this research. Social constructionism recognizes that there is a difference between objective conditions and social constructions (Best, cited in Goedeke, 2005). It asserts that multiple constructions are possible. This is a key point with regards to problem framing because it introduces the idea that a problem is not only an objective entity to which a solution is self-evident. Thus, it becomes clear that problems or issues exist on two levels, at the level of a tangible condition and at the level of discourse, that is, the way the condition is talked about and framed. The various interest groups involved in the problem condition may define it in different ways, and these groups or individuals are referred to as claims makers. Claims making is a political, contested process and, arguably, one that occurs in almost any development initiative.

These different problem frames may be drastically divergent and even mutually exclusive. They may also differ from each other in ways that are so subtle that they escape notice. Potentially then, two individuals may be using the same words but meaning completely different things. Discourse theory plays an important part in the analytical methodology of my research, and this will be discussed in the Methodology section. At the theoretical level, the understanding that discourse is a tool of power is fundamental to the concept of claims making. Discourse theory argues that language isn't simply a neutral or straightforward naming of reality, but that it sets out to achieve something (Potter & Wetherell, 1998). It is, in this sense, a device with which to garner power. Claims making is this process, whereby power is obtained through defining the problem. Thus, the theoretical basis for my research draws on both social constructionism and discourse theory.

It is important to note that the framing metaphor is not restricted to problems, although much of the literature examined here applies it in this way. Problem framing is a form of analysis that has been widely utilised in the field of environmental management, dealing with environmental problems. Environmental management can be understood as the management of natural resources. However, framing also occurs in the context of projects and issues more widely. Essentially, any project or issue can be framed in a variety of different ways and thus the framing analysis can be utilised to investigate how this functions. This research was aimed to attempting to apply the frame analysis in this way and investigate how useful it could be in uncovering discursive power.

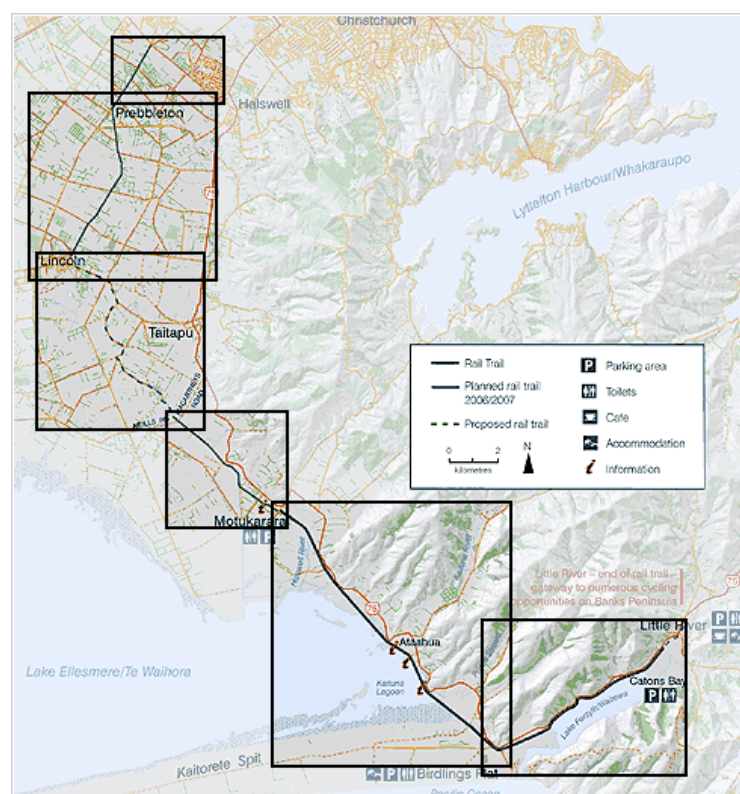
1.3 Case Study: Little River Rail Trail

This research focussed on the Little River Rail Trail (LRRT), a project currently being developed on Banks Peninsula, New Zealand. A decision was made to exclude any in depth or back ground information regarding the LRRT. The rationale behind this is that doing so could influence the reader to adopt my particular framing of the LRRT, as the researcher. As anticipated, it was clear to me throughout the research that I framed the LRRT in particular ways. Whilst this is an inevitable part of the research process, it seemed important to exclude this from the write up so that the LRRT could be framed primarily by the participants, through the case study analysis in Section 5. This is also the rationale for the absence of background information regarding Rail Trails more generally. Although this would normally be included, in this case it has been excluded so that the reader is not influenced by how Rail Trails are framed more generally. Doing so might have the effect of prejudicing the reader against one

or more of the ways in which this Rail Trail has been framed by participants and, moreover, make it appear that there is a right or wrong way to frame Rail Trails in a general sense. What follows, therefore, is a brief outline of the LRRT in order to put it in some context.

The LRRT will follow the old railway line, which used to run between Christchurch and Little River. This project was instigated by the Little River Rail Trail Trust (LRRT Trust), which was established in 2003 with the aim of initiating the Trail (LRRT Trust, 2007b). The Rail Trail is partially completed, with the Prebbleton to Lincoln section finished, as well as the Motukarara to Little River section (LRRT Trust, 2007a). However, this last section finishes one kilometre from the township, and is perhaps the most highly contested portion of the LRRT. Figure 1 shows in more detail the proposed route the LRRT will follow.

Figure One: Map of Proposed LRRT Route



Source: LRRT Trust, 2007a

The LRRT is a highly contested issue in the area, and involves a wide range of diverse stakeholders. These include two of the local councils – Selwyn District Council and the Christchurch City Council. Furthermore, it involves several government organisations, including Environment Canterbury (ECAN) and the Department of Conservation (DOC).

Two Runanga¹ are also involved, Wairewa and Te Taumutu, as well as the LRRT Trust. There are also many interest groups within the local community, including residents, business people, recreational cyclists, hunters, tourists, farmers and landowners. The great variety of ideologies, values and interests that these different groups represent creates a very complex and contested situation.



Image 4: Dilapidated Fence at Kaituna Quarry

¹ A Runanga is the local Maori council.

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Problem Theory

This section introduces the concept of problem theory by looking at a historical text on problem solving.

Problems are one of those concepts that seem so simple we pay no attention. We are all proficient problem solvers, assessing information, defining the problem and moving to seemingly logical solutions without giving a thought to the process. However, all is not as it seems. One of the key texts, which sets the scene for this research, is from 1974, a book by Wayne Wickelgren called “*How to Solve Problems*” (1974). Essentially, he argues, problems are made up of three elements – givens, operations and goals (1974). Givens are anything that is present within the world of the problem – they can be material things like cars or roads, or intangibles like knowledge, information or assumptions. Operations are “actions you are allowed to perform on the givens” (Wickelgren, 1974: 12). The goal, finally, is the state that the problem solver wishes to “cause to exist in the world of the problem” (Wickelgren, 1974).

Wickelgren’s book deals with formal, mathematical problems that have a delineated set of givens, operations and a clearly defined goal. Problems in the world of aid and development are rarely so narrowly defined. If the problem is assumed to be poverty, the givens, operations and even the goal are likely to be only partially known, at best. The rest of Wickelgren’s book is, therefore, of very limited use to this particular research. However, there are two important elements that contribute. The first is the three kinds of information outlined above. His second contribution is the understanding that a problem exists as “expressions of information rather than actual, physical objects” (1974: 13). Wickelgren argues that when we are solving problems, we use representations of objects, rather than the objects themselves. This relates to my research because it introduces the idea the problems are constructed and of problem solvers having mental models of the problem. Further on, I will be looking at the processes involved in constructing problem definitions in the field of development.

2.2 Problems as Social Constructions

The idea that problems are socially constructed is one of the theoretical underpinnings of this research. It relates to the research because it sets the scene for understanding that problems are not givens and therefore there are a range of possible problem definitions.

There is a growing body of literature that argues that problems are socially constructed (Rocheftort & Cobb, 1994; Best, 1989; Spector & Kitsuse, 1987; Goedeke, 2005; Miller & Holstein, 1993; Hacking, 1999). Essentially, this means that there is a distinction between an objective condition and a social problem (Best, cited in Goedeke, 2005). An objective condition becomes a problem when it begins to be perceived as such (Goedeke, 2005). This can certainly be applied, at a macro level, to poverty and development. There have always been poor people, and therefore poverty. Likewise, development has occurred throughout human history (Dichter, 2003). However, it was not until after World War II that poverty began to be thought of as a social problem, and, specifically, a political problem (Dichter, 2003). Truman's Point Four plan was a landmark moment in the process of constructing poverty as a social problem, for he was the first to use the word "underdeveloped" (Dichter, 2003: 55). Both Hacking (1999) and Rocheftort and Cobb (1994) point out that social constructionism doesn't argue that nothing is real and everything is constructed, but what it does argue is that things are both real and socially constructed. When it is argued that poverty is a social construction, this does not mean that it is not real. It simply means that it is not only an objective condition, but it is also perceived as a social problem.

It is not only the existence of the problem that is socially constructed, however. Rocheftort and Cobb argue that problems undergo a process of characterisation (1994). They use the term "problem definition" (1994: 4) to conceptualise the struggle over how a problem is defined. This refers to the nature of the problem, and, importantly, its causes. Those involved in this process are "claims-makers" (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987) and they use a range of rhetorical devices to represent specific problems in certain ways. Rocheftort & Cobb's work is concerned with policy making, specifically in terms of government policy, and therefore they conceptualise claims-makers primarily as politicians (1994). However, a claims-maker can be defined as any individual or group who is involved in problem definition (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987). Rocheftort and Cobb argue that claims-makers are engaged in a struggle over "problem ownership", that is, a struggle for the power or jurisdiction to define what the problem is (1994).

This is a central aspect of my research project, which is primarily concerned with how problems are defined. Individuals and groups involved in development are regarded as claims-makers, and therefore the way that they understand or define the problem is of great significance.

Another key element in this process is the definition of the problem population (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994). In terms of my research, this is also an important concept. The problem population is “the afflicted groups and individuals” (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994: 22). Rochefort and Cobb argue that how the problem population is conceived dictates to some degree what solutions are applied. So, if those who live in poverty are regarded purely as beneficiaries of aid, the old adage will apply: “beggars can’t be choosers”. This will inevitably lead to a very low priority being placed on participation in decision making for aid recipients. On the other hand, regarding the poor as having multiple strategies for survival has led to an approach to development called Sustainable Livelihoods (Cahn, 2003).

2.3 Problem Definition

This research is concerned with applying the concept of problem definition to development. Although much research exists which is concerned with the definition of social problems in general, and within environmental management in particular, there is almost no literature from the field of development engaging with this concept.

What the literature indicates is that the way a problem is defined dictates, to a large extent, the range of acceptable solutions (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Bardwell, 1991). Rochefort and Cobb make an important point here, however. The problem definition does not simply dictate the solution. The solution is also influenced by a range of other factors, including acceptability and affordability (1994). Acceptability refers to codes of conducts, legislation or regulations and so on, which limit what solutions are tolerable. In summary, the way a problem is defined dictates the *range* of solutions that are considered, and other factors such as acceptability and affordability narrow this range further until one is selected.

The literature emphasises that problem definitions are arrived at from within and from without (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Eden, Jones & Sims, 1983; Bardwell, 1991). That is, the way an

individual perceives a problem is shaped by their own life histories and experiences, by their “personal beliefs, attitudes, hypotheses, prejudices, expectations, personal values and objectives” (Eden *et al.*, 1983: 3). Eden *et al.* point out that problem definition is also influenced by an individual’s organisational life (1983). Their book is written for those helping people in organizations solve problems, and therefore situates individuals within organizations, arguing that this means they are engaging in internal politicking (1983). This influences how the person will construct the problem. They note, “Whether we disagree with or regard as irrational...all these elements of a person’s problem construction, they are all his reality and will be crucial to the choices he makes and actions he takes about his problems” (Eden *et al.*, 1983: 8). Thus, the literature shows that problems definitions are arrived at from within.

Problem definition is also influenced from without, and this is where the issue of power becomes important. This has been noted above in Rochefort and Cobb’s concept of problem-ownership (1994). All claims-makers are not equal (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Bardwell, 1991), and problem definition necessarily involves a process of power. In this sense, the literature conceptualises problem definition as discursive (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987; Best, 1989; Dewulf, Craps & Dercon, 2004; Dewulf, François, Bouwen & Taillieu, 2006). The way that problems are defined, in a communicative sense, is part of the struggle for problem-ownership. The way that a problem is talked about can shape the way that others think of it (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004) and it can mobilise action (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994). This can be unconscious, or it can be deliberate. Whichever is the case, many theorists argue that defining or framing the problem operates by setting the agenda in specific ways (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Dewulf *et al.*, 2004; Dewulf *et al.*, 2006; Spector & Kitsuse, 1987; Best, 1989; McCullum, Pelletier, Barr & Wilkins, 2003; Lees & Roth, 2006). The particular ways in which the agenda is set depends largely on the context, and this will be considered in the case studies further on.

2.4 Problem or Issue Framing

This research utilises the term framing rather than problem definition because, as outlined, it denotes a process rather than a fixed state. Thus, this section forms the theoretical rationale behind this research in that it attempted an analysis of problem framing in the context of development management, at the project level.

Problem definition is also conceptualised as frames of reference (Swaffield, 1998), problem framing (Bardwell, 1991), or issue framing (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004). Framing is a metaphor for definition, and its use is particularly discussed by Swaffield (1998). He discusses the “frame of reference” metaphor as it is used to analyse “decision maker’s and decision influencers’ attitudes and actions” (1998: 496). The frame of reference metaphor is, in a sense, a step back from problem or issue framing. It is concerned with the worldview or perspective of an individual or group, and how this shapes the way they understand the world, or more specifically, the problem. The literature on frames of reference goes back to the early 1980’s (Rein, 1983; Togerson, 1980; Miller, 1985), where, Swaffield (1998) notes, it has been used particularly in environmental management.

Problem or issue framing is more directly related to problem definition and, in fact, the two are used interchangeably (Bardwell, 1991). However, the term frame implies a process, whereas definition denotes a fixed status. One of the major critiques of the use of problem frames or definitions is that they can be viewed as fixed, static, discrete positions (Swaffield, 1998) whereas in reality, frames are constructed, dynamic, permeable and fluid. People do not inhabit one frame of reference or even necessarily frame problems in one particular or fixed way (Swaffield, 1998; Bardwell, 1991). It is important when using the frame metaphor as a tool for analysis not to essentialize frame positions but to constantly remember that they are dynamic and constructed.

This leads on to the body of literature that regards problem or issue framing as a process, rather than a cognitive position (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004; Best, 1989; Spector & Kitsuse, 1987; Dewulf *et al.*, 2006). Problem framing or claims making is therefore understood as an interaction (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987) or as communication (Best, 1989; Dewulf *et al.*, 2004; Dewulf *et al.*, 2006). There is an increasing volume of research that utilises discourse analysis in order to deconstruct how claims making or problem framing functions in society (Best, 1989; Spector & Kitsuse, 1987), in policy making (Rocheffort & Cobb, 1994), in environmental management, (Dewulf *et al.*, 2006; Bardwell, 1991) and in particular case studies (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004; Swaffield, 1998; McCullum *et al.*, 2003; Lee & Roth, 2006).

As noted above, claims making is a discursive process and therefore involves power relationships. The literature points to various rhetorical devices that are used to set the agenda such as the use of, for example, dramatic stories, statistics (Best, 1989; Rocheffort & Cobb,

1994), reframing (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004), different types of language (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; McCullum *et al.*, 2003) and the control of information (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994). Through a range of these rhetorical or discursive devices, the problem frame or problem definition is “managed” (McCullum *et al.*, 2003: 194) by claims makers. In the world of the problem (Wickelgren, 1974) those who have power are those who get to define the problem. What is more, the definition of the problem dictates the range of solutions that are acceptable (Bardwell, 1991). Thus, defining the problem is a powerful and important process.

2.5 Problem Framing: Theory and Methodology

The literature outlined in this section examines problem framing as a theory and as a methodology. This informed the selection of the specific approach and methodology in terms of carrying out the research.

Problem or issue framing is both a theory and a methodology (Swaffield, 1998; Dewulf *et al.*, 2006). As a theory, it involves a critique of power and an analysis of how decision-making is done. As such, the role of the framing metaphor is “critical analysis” (Swaffield, 1998: 501). Swaffield argues that, at this level, the framing metaphor does not have any practical role in problem solving per se, but it contributes to understanding “the diverse interests of stakeholders and ...more widespread ideological assumptions underlying an issue” (1998: 501). In addition, the framing metaphor has an interpretative and an instrumental role (Swaffield, 1998). In its interpretative role, applying the framing metaphor to problem solving can help “provide the preconditions for education, negotiation and mediation, which may in turn help resolve problems” (Swaffield, 1998: 501). Problem solving can be enhanced by using the problem frame to better understand the positions of the claims makers. Finally, issue framing theory can be used to actively solve problems, “through a process of frame reconciliation and reframing” (Swaffield, 1998: 500). In this sense, problem framing is used to enable claims makers to reconcile their frames by seeking out and emphasising common ground. Dewulf *et al.* outline a similar stance, in that, as a methodology, problem framing allows the capture of “what happens with divergent frames throughout the process of interaction, in which issues are negotiated through formulating and reformulating them” (2006). Furthermore, they argue that, as an analytical theory, problem framing allows for an

understanding of diversity within interactions, whereby that diversity is “continuously enacted and dealt with in discursive practices” (2006).

Bardwell’s article on problem framing is another important piece of literature for this research (1991). She, like the theorists outlined above, argues that problem framing is of the utmost value in problem solving, because the way a problem is defined dictates the quality of the solutions that are acceptable (1991). Bardwell draws on theories from cognitive psychology and conflict management. She notes that much problem solving involves “solving the wrong problem” (Interactive Associates, cited in Bardwell, 1991: 605) among other problem definition issues. Problem definition, according to Bardwell, “ramifies throughout the problem-solving process, reflecting values and assumptions, determining strategies and profoundly impacting upon the quality of the solutions” (1991: 605). The case study outlined below, from Dewulf *et al.* (2004) illustrates her point; revealing how different actors were, in fact, solving different problems as they framed the problem in such divergent ways. The case study links Bardwell’s theory neatly to development, as it deals with a development project.

2.6 Case Studies

This section outlines four case studies which illustrate how problem definition as an analytical tool can be applied to real world situations. The studies are primarily concerned with environmental management, apart from the last, which is a development project (albeit in the United States). The case studies are included in this literature review to emphasize how useful problem framing is as an analytical tool. The themes from the case studies can quite easily be applied to a development management situation as they contain many of the same elements.

Problem framing has been usefully applied in the field of environmental management. This is evidenced by several key case studies. Swaffield used the frame of reference metaphor to analyze how, in the South Island of New Zealand, different stakeholders or claims-makers understood and defined “the issue of trees and plantations in the high country” (1998: 497). His study entailed qualitative interviews where the interviewees were asked about their opinions on trees and plantations (1998). The individual frames of reference extrapolated from these interviews were then collated into seven “common frames of reference” (Swaffield, 1998: 498). These seven frames were used to analyze and comprehend the

diverse positions of the decision makers and decision influencers (Swaffield, 1998). This case study illustrates how applying the frame of reference or problem framing metaphor can be a useful framework for accessing the diverse views of those involved in environmental decision making.

Lee and Roth reported another case study that utilized a similar method. It investigated the conflict over the management of water in a water scarce community (2006). They do not specify where this community is, and use pseudonyms to protect the community identity. Their methodology was discourse analysis, and they specifically looked at how scientific data was reframed in order to influence the decision-making process. The scientists involved presented (or framed) the problem of water scarcity in terms of their scientific findings, and Lee and Roth's discursive analysis reveals how the data was "subject to challenges and creative reframing by involved, concerned participants" (2006: 443). Their specific interest was to analyze how scientific claims making interacted with other forms of framing discourse. They argue that a deeper or more structured understanding of this interaction enabled "better community-level decision making" (Lee & Roth, 2006: 443). Their conclusion is that no form of knowledge should be privileged in a democratic society, and therefore scientific knowledge must be integrated with other forms of knowing (Lee & Roth, 2006). The use of problem framing theory in this case study reveals how it can be enacted to understand different kinds of knowledge and comprehend the conflicts between outside experts and community members. This links closely to development because participatory planning regularly involves the same mix of experts and local people.

A third case study again involves an environmental issue, but this is set in a development context more specifically. Dewulf *et al.* outline a case study of a soil conservation project that took place in the Ecuadorian Andes (2004). It was a collaborative project involving, among others, university staff, engineers, NGOs, farmers' group representatives and individual community members (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004). Dewulf *et al.* analyzed framing at three different levels. Firstly, they looked at how different actors framed soil conservation and the ways in which they connected it to other issues they were concerned with (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004). Secondly, they considered the dynamic nature of frames, how "certain actors bring with them certain issue frames and certain issue frames seem to attract certain actors" (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004: 13). This analysis was concerned with how frames changed over time and how this affected the different actors. Lastly, they used discourse analysis to comprehend how issues were framed at the individual level. The analysis looked at the level of the

moment of interaction, how frames came up in conversations and how these were dealt with discursively. This enabled a critique of the differing power levels, that the experts were able to shape the agenda by using a toolbox of discursive devices (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004). This case study provides an excellent example of how the frame analysis can be applied to a development project, whereby the diversity of frames and power relationships can be analyzed and critiqued.

The final case study is a community food-security project situated in the state of New York in the United States (McCullum *et al.*, 2003). Their particular interest was agenda setting and power in a participatory process called a “search conference” (McCullum *et al.*, 2003: 189). Part of their methodology was dedicated to an analysis of how problem framing was managed through discourse analysis. They found that “problem framing was managed by the pursuit of narrow interests, choice of terminology used and decisions being made before all identified costs, benefits and risks were considered” (McCullum, 2003: 194). An example of this would be that although the search conference was initially convened to look at community food security, this was later reframed as community food systems, ignoring issues such as hunger or food security (McCullum, 2003). The analysis of this discursive process allowed the researchers to understand how power functioned to define the problem that the project was to solve and to comprehend how power operated within this. This case study provides a clear indication of how management of problem definition acts to largely dictate the range of solutions available and how differing power relationships operate within the problem framing process.

2.7 Problem Framing and Development

This section draws together some literature from development studies to demonstrate the ways in which problem framing can potentially be applied to aid and development.

The first three case studies outlined above are all examples of how the framing analysis has been applied to environmental management. A thorough search of a variety of databases elicited only one case study (the fourth one) involving the application of problem or issue framing to the analysis of a development project. This was a very surprising finding, given how useful the problem framing analysis has been shown to be in environmental management. Environmental management and development management have some key elements in common. Perhaps the most important is that both widely involve a range of

organizations and a mix of experts and local people. The central text from the literature here is from Dewulf et al. (2006). Their paper outlines a theory of diversity and applies issue framing. Their opening statement succinctly summarizes the rationale behind applying problem framing to development management:

“We conceptualize organizational diversity situations as contexts where people with different backgrounds are interdependent in performing their tasks or achieving their goals. We use the concept of frames and we focus on dealing with differences in issue framing in order to capture diversity at the level where it takes the form of divergent views on the issues at hand” (Dewulf *et al.*, 2006:1).

Development project management regularly involves collaboration from a range of experts and consultants working in partnership with local people in order to achieve their goals. At the very least, this is part of the new rhetoric for aid, and is the stated aim of most aid and development organizations (Chambers & Pettit, 2004). The implication of collaboration is illustrated in the last two case studies, where different actors framed the problem in very different ways (Dewulf *et al.*, 2004; McCullum *et al.*, 2003). Thus framing wasn't merely given or static; it was actively constructed by the participants in the decision-making or problem solving process.

Arguably, in one sense, all of development is a problem solving exercise. The problem is named poverty, but how it is defined is a contested process (Thomas, 2000). Thomas argues that not only is the definition of poverty contested, but the problem population (2000). Problem has been afforded the status of a social problem (Thomas, 2000) and as such, an analysis of problem or issue framing can be applied at this macro level. It is not difficult to see that the way that poverty is defined dictates the solutions that are devised. For example, where poverty is framed as a lack of money, for example, the solution that can be applied is purely financial. However, if poverty is framed in terms of health or education, the solutions may involve capacity building or health sector reform (Thomas, 2000). Applying a problem framing analysis to poverty at a macro level would enable a better understanding of how development functions as a solution to a socially constructed problem.

The case studies outlined above illustrate how a framing analysis can be applied at the level of the development project. Chambers and Pettit (2004) argue that, in terms of development projects, despite the rhetoric surrounding participation, there is still a major inequality

between the power of the donor and that of the recipient. The frame analysis can be applied to better comprehend and critique this imbalance of power. Moreover, the frame analysis can also contribute to a better understanding of the different ways in which the diverse actors in a particular project frame the specific problem. Potentially, Swaffield's argument of the instrumental role of framing (1998) could also be applied as a methodological tool in a participatory process at the project level.

2.8 Summary – Finding the Gap

Framing is a dynamic, contested process that enacts discursive devices. As an analytical and methodological tool, it has been used to investigate the diversity of problem definitions held by various actors within collaborative decision making processes. Problem framing can be regarded as an interaction whereby individuals and groups struggle over problem ownership, representing the power to define the problem, and thereby its possible solutions. It can be used to deepen understanding and provide a critique of power. Issue framing as a tool for interaction is an important part of any problem solving or decision-making process. It has been used within the field of environmental management, providing a multi-layered and critical analysis. As an analytical and critical tool, it could also provide an in-depth analysis to the field of aid and development.

Such an analysis has not been published, and this is the gap in the literature that this research proposed to help fill. The research was interested in the problem frame as a way of understanding the various positions of the actors, and as a discursive interactive process. The problem or issue frame analysis was applied to a development project, in the hopes of understanding better how the different actors frame the problem, and how they arrive at this frame. Moreover, it engaged with how power functions in the interactive framing process, particularly in regards to discourse and rhetorical constructs. It was believed that little or no research has been carried out applying problem framing to the area of development, and that doing so will provide a useful analysis. It was hoped that by specifically looking at problem definition attention could be drawn to its importance within the whole process of development.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Reasons for Research

Whilst the problem or issue framing analysis has been applied frequently in the field of environmental management, it had yet to be adapted to the development context. There are many similarities between these two domains, including, most importantly, the diverse range of groups that must cooperate. Arguably, the adaptation and application of problem framing to development can enable a more comprehensive understanding of some of the difficulties involved in this cooperative context. Thus, this research sought to utilise this framework in order to provide a new perspective on development practice.

This research is also important because problem definition dictates, to a large extent, the quality of the acceptable solutions (Bardwell, 1991: 605). Issues that may arise from poor problem definition include: groups solving different problems or solving the wrong problem. These outcomes are, potentially, significantly counter-productive. Because development professionals and technical experts may be unaware of the dynamics of claims making and problem framing it is potentially common for problems to be identified in unhelpful ways. Defining problems through communicative and cooperative processes means the solutions that are applied have a much higher chance of success. It is hoped that this research may contribute to a higher awareness of the importance of problem or issue definition in development initiatives and uncover the obstacles to framing problems or issues through a transparent and communicative process.

3.2 Case Study

Like much of the other research in this field, it is intended that a case study approach be utilised. In employing this approach, the research was context specific and, as outlined above, provided rich rather than broad data. This enabled a deeper understanding of the particular issues raised in the data collection phase, and also permitted the research to remain within the inevitable constraints of time and money.

The LRRT case study is a good theoretical ‘fit’ in terms of this research. The wide range of stakeholders outlined above is a significant element of many international rural development

interventions. It is a highly contested issue and therefore engages a range of frames, making it ideal for applying this particular analysis. It is still ‘in process’, meaning that the various actors are likely to have strong opinions which may make the process of researching their frames more accessible. Finally, it is in a rural setting, which means that fits with in the rural focus of the International Rural Development programme.

The fact that it is situated in New Zealand rather than a developing country is a limitation for this research. Development in New Zealand is, arguably, quite different to that in the developing world. For example, it is less likely to focus on poverty alleviation and more likely to come from private investment. However, development initiated by a NGO, such as the LRRT, still shares many common characteristics with development in the developing world. For example, there is a similar struggle with limited resources including funding and it is likely to involve a complex mix of stakeholders. Moreover, just as in developing countries, there are more powerful groups and marginalised or excluded groups. Of particular note is the involvement of Tangata Whenua and community members. For this reason, it seems likely that the findings of this research can be applicable in a developing world context, at least in terms of the theoretical approach.

3.3 Aim

The primary aim of the case study research was to attempt to comprehend the range of frames present in the LRRT situation. The focus was on the dynamic nature of these frames and, in particular, the similarities and differences between the diverse ways in which participants framed the LRRT. Furthermore, the power aspect of problem framing was also investigated, looking at how particular frames were privileged or excluded and how this was managed discursively by claims makers.

Thus, this research investigated the following research question:

How do different participants frame the Little River Rail Trail, with particular reference to the dynamic nature and discursive power of this process?

In order to investigate this question, several sub questions were addressed:

- How do the participants talk about the LRRT?

- How does this reflect the ways in which the participants frame/define the LRRT?
- Which problem frames appear to have been privileged or excluded by decision- makers?
- How does power manifest itself in the process through which problem frames are privileged/excluded?
- Is problem framing a useful tool for analysing a development project?

Furthermore, the secondary aim of this research was to investigate the extent to which a problem or issue framing analysis can be applied in a development management context. It was thought that the findings of the research questions above would demonstrate how effectively a problem framing analysis could investigate the diverse range of perspectives held by the stakeholders and the discursive power operating in the context of a development project.

Therefore, a secondary research question was investigated:

Can a problem framing analysis be usefully applied in a development management context?

3.4 Qualitative Research

The decision to use qualitative research methodology stemmed from the need, within this research, to comprehend depth rather than breadth (Davidson & Tolich, 2003). In order to grasp the variety of positions adopted by the claims makers, and how this differed within and between groups, it was important to utilise methods that allowed for this. Furthermore, it was understood that claims making and problem framing refer to a dynamic and flexible process rather than a fixed or static position. Thus, it was important to allow for this in the data collection process. Qualitative methods tolerate flexibility in data collection and highlight difference rather than conformity (Davidson & Tolich, 2003).

3.5 Sampling

Qualitative sampling methods were used for this research, in line with the broader qualitative methodology outlined above. Theoretical sampling was implemented, in that participants were selected on the basis that they were thought to represent a wide range of interest groups within the scope of the research. Theoretical sampling “requires you to analyse as you collect” (Davidson & Tolich, 2003: 119) and to this end further participants were accessed

throughout the course of the data collection phase. Initially representatives from various interest groups were contacted, including local government representatives, Runanga representatives and the representatives of other organisations and lobby groups. Furthermore, community contacts were utilised to contact community members. The snowballing technique was then implemented to access further participants. The sample represented an embedded, contextualised situation and thus highlighted the diversity and depth of the LRRT case study, rather than being generalizable to the larger population.

3.6 Data Collection

Primarily, data was collected using face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interview enabled the researcher to partially guide the interview, whilst still allowing room for the participant's own values and interests to be obtained (Davidson & Tolich, 2003). These interviews were aimed at obtaining data about individual claims making as well as the participant's perspective on other problem frames, the frames of other groups to which they belonged and so on. This data is subjective, which will be both a strength and risk.

Secondary data was also collected, in the form of general information centred on the LRRT itself and public information about the problem frames of the different groups. This kind of data was obtained from stakeholders, libraries, news media, and the Internet. The latter was a rich source of information in the form of statements and speeches and other data such as minutes of meetings and newsletters that are publicly available.

These data collection activities provided data that has been triangulated in order to find themes. The aim of this research was not to obtain objective truth about the problem/problems, but to gather a range of subjective perspectives. Triangulation then was not aimed so much at establishing truthful accounts as it was at discovering trends, dynamics and contradictions.

3.7 Data analysis

The majority of data analysis occurred after the data collection phase was complete. The data was analysed primarily using discourse analysis. Wetherell notes that discourse analysis aims to “uncover the larger patterning of thought that structures the way language is used” (cited in

Davidson & Tolich, 2003: 285). Thus, by analysing the way that participants talked about frames, it was possible to extrapolate their claims making processes. These were collapsed to form larger categories or contrasted to identify diversity or contradictions. Discourse analysis was also utilised to analyse the discursive power aspects of problem framing, particularly through the analysis of public statements.

To a certain extent the research drew upon a grounded theory approach to data analysis, utilising inductive methodology. This means, “the theory generated in qualitative research first emerges out of, and then is organised around, a burgeoning explanation of the data” (Davidson & Tolich, 2003). Problem-framing theory formed the background to the research prior to data collection; however, the data was used to inductively draw out the problem frames. Thus, although the methodology was not strictly from the grounded theory perspective, given that there was a preconceived framework, data analysis drew on these principles.

In order to facilitate this, a program called NVivo was used. This enables the coding of transcripts at the level of words and phrases. These codes can then be collated and organised in a variety of ways. This coding methodology facilitated an analysis of the transcripts that more closely mirrored what the participant was actually saying, rather than that summarised by myself. This enabled me to minimise my own values and perspectives, although obviously these were not excluded. This was important in this research because, as noted, I inevitably brought to the work my own assumptions, values and problem frames.

The data was analysed in a number of ways. Firstly, the interviews were transcribed verbatim and the files imported into NVivo. The interview transcripts were then coded, and these codes organised into groups. As well as the coding done by hand, NVivo was able to do text searches, where reports could be produced which counted, for example, the number of times the words cycle/cycling appeared in an interview. Moreover, a report was produced for each interview which listed the 1000 most frequently used words. These were analysed to draw out the 10 most common nouns in each interview. Nouns were selected because they revealed what things, in particular, the participant was talking about most often. This was a useful tool for ascertaining the dominant themes in the interviews.

Reports were produced for each interview, containing the codes that appeared in that interview. These codes represented a useful summary of the interviews and were used to

identify particular aspects of the participant's frames. The codes were also used to discover what strategies the participants' employed in order to manage oppositional or competing frames. These were collated to ascertain themes in order to discover which strategies were commonly utilised by the participants.

It is important to emphasise here that the analysis is not used as a way of assigning moral values to any of the frames communicated by the participants. For example, discussions about the way in which a participant frames the LRRT as a cycleway are not intended to include a judgement about whether or not this is a good or bad, correct or incorrect way of framing the LRRT. Instead, the research is concerned with how the participant frames the LRRT, how this functions and how it is similar or different, dominant or excluded when compared with other, alternative ways of framing the LRRT. For the purpose of this research, it is assumed that all ways of framing are equally valid and it is therefore interesting to investigate why some valid frames are dominant whilst other valid frames are excluded.

Similarly, when analysing the frame management strategies utilised by the participants, it is beyond the scope of this research to speculate as to the motivations of the participants. It should not be assumed that these strategies are employed in a deliberate or premeditated fashion. Rather, the research is concerned with how these strategies function and how this acts in this particular context. Whether or not participants intend to discredit or exclude an opposing frame is not established; what is demonstrated is that the way in which they frame the LRRT has the function of, for example, discrediting or excluding other potential frames.

3.8 Writing up

Each interview was then analysed and written up as a case study. Particular attention was paid to how the participant framed the LRRT in terms of both what it is and what its purpose is. A section was also included on the participant's personal opinion, including notes on any distinctions that could be made between the participant's personal and public framing. Another section briefly discussed the main themes of that particular interview. Any available documentary data, such as public meeting agendas or reports, were analysed to see how they supported or contradicted the data from the interviews. This information was included in the case studies.

In referring to the LRRT, several terms are used throughout the text. These include the anagram LRRT as well as Rail Trail and Trail. These should not be regarded as meaningful in terms of any attempt to purposefully privilege any particular frame. Consideration was given to utilising the Māori term for the LRRT, Te Ara A Tutekawa as a way of recognising the significance of Te Reo Māori. However, it was decided to retain the LRRT as the primary language, due to the fact that Te Ara A Tutekawa refers specifically to the section between Motukarara and the Little River Pub.

3.9 Limitations

There were several limitations to this research, particularly centred on the stakeholders that were not included as participants. Due to the limited nature of a dissertation, particularly in terms of time, only 12 participants were able to be interviewed. However, there were a large number of stakeholders and it was inevitable that some key stakeholders were excluded. Perhaps the most significant was that no farmers were included in the write up of this research. One farmer was interviewed, but declined to be recorded. Unfortunately this meant that the interview could not be included since a transcript could not be analysed. However, a survey of secondary data provided some significant information, which has been included in Case Study 13. Moreover, information obtained through the other interviews was utilised to corroborate those findings.

Other notable exclusions included community members from the early sections of the LRRT, particularly Lincoln, Prebbleton and Christchurch. The effect of this is considered in the Discussion, Section 6. Another excluded group was business owners. Business owners were contacted but communicated that they lacked the time to be interviewed. Several noted that they would not be able to contribute because they could not quantify the effect the LRRT had on their business. There is also an unintended gender bias in the research, with only two women interviewed. Finally, it would have been useful to interview multiple participants from major stakeholder groups, such as the LRRT Trust, the Councils and from the communities. It is important not to assume that the frames communicated by the participants relates directly to the frames held by the groups they represent. Moreover, any group consists of many individuals, each with their own particular frame of reference, and therefore there is no one static and unified frame for any of the stakeholder groups.



Image 5: Little River Rail Trail through Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere

Whilst it is important to acknowledge these limitations, it is also valuable to emphasise that the participants interviewed do represent a wide spectrum of interests and therefore can be considered representative of the particular context of the LRRT. What follows is not an exhaustive summary, but a demonstration of the diversity as well as the common themes present in the way in which stakeholders frame the LRRT.



Image 6: Bumblebee on Thistles

CASE STUDIES

4.1 Department of Conservation

The Department of Conservation (DOC) is an important stakeholder in the Little River Rail Trail. They administer the old railway easement, which is now a section of publicly owned land that runs from Motukarara to approximately one kilometre short of Little River. Although the participants from DOC noted that the value of the easement as a recreational asset was recognised, it simply was not a priority. Whilst the LRRT Trust was responsible for the financing and construction of the LRRT, after its completion the maintenance of the Rail Trail will be handed over to DOC.

During the data collection phase I spoke to two staff members from DOC. Both were involved with the Rail Trail during its implementation phase.

Case Study One: DOC Staff Member One.

Gender: Female

Resident near the Rail Trail: No

Stated interest in Cycling: Yes

Involvement: *The Participant had been closely involved with the Rail Trail since the beginning of her time with DOC.*

What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

When asked what the purpose of the Trail was, from DOC's perspective, the participant firstly identified the appreciation of the area, "to get people out so they can appreciate the environment and appreciate the lake, see the birds...". She then mentioned that DOC had formal objectives for their involvement with the Rail Trail. These are, according to the participant, "to improve the public access along the shores of Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere, to create opportunities for public appreciation of the natural, historic and cultural values of Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere".

From this interaction, the participant firstly gave her own understanding of the purpose of the Rail Trail, her personal frame of reference, and then specified the formal or official frame, that of DOC. Although these are closely related, there are elements of difference, particularly in that her frame focuses more narrowly on the natural values of the Lake, the birds and the environment whilst the DOC frame includes historic and cultural values.

The distinction between the participant's personal frame of reference and DOC's can be seen in the fact that the participant did not expand on the other values of the Trail and area but focuses solely on the natural values. She noted that when people appreciate the natural values of the area, this raises their awareness of environmental issues, introducing another aspect of her personal frame of reference. Finally, the participant identified that DOC has "responsibilities to provide recreational opportunities over public conservation land" but she quickly moved on to another point.

The participant herself frames the purpose of the Rail Trail in terms of appreciating and creating awareness of the natural values through which the Rail Trail passes. This is her personal frame, but it is related closely to the way in which DOC, her employer, frames the Trail. She understands the DOC frame in terms of the formal objectives drawn up for the Department's involvement with the Rail Trail. The DOC frame is broader in that it includes the historical and cultural values of the area and also because it identifies the Rail Trail as a public access facility. In terms of the purpose of the Trail, then, the participant occupies two distinct frames, one as an individual, and one as an employee.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The personal attitude of the participant to the Rail Trail is extremely positive. She noted that it is a 'privilege' to be involved, despite the difficulties surrounding it. She also revealed her personal interest in cycling, which led her to state that she is "just *waiting* for the rest to get open".

Dominant Themes

A word frequency analysis of the interview reveals that two of most dominant nouns, aside from rail, trail and road, are land (72 occurrences) and lake (30 occurrences). What this emphasises is the dominance of the environment in the way that the participant frames the

Rail Trail. Environmental sustainability and, in particular, the conservation of natural and indigenous values, are concepts that occur repeatedly throughout the interview.

What is the Rail Trail?

The participant most commonly referred to the LRRT as a 'Rail Trail' (29 times), although several times she simply calls it a 'Trail'. She referred to it as both a walkway and a cycleway, or both, but the cycle aspect is much more dominant, a total of nine references to cycling, compared to only four of walking.

Another element of the participant's frame is the Rail Trail as a community project. Not only was the Rail Trail itself often referred to in this way, the participant often emphasised or identified the LRRT Trust as a 'community group'. In this manner, the participant conceptualises the Rail Trail as an initiative that has arisen out of the community.

A third dominant concept is the Rail Trail as a public access facility. The participant referred to the Trail in this way three times. It should be noted that this aspect is explicitly identified in DOC's objectives. A less significant element is the Rail Trail as a recreational facility. Whilst this is mentioned only once, it is identified as an important part of the DOC mandate and, for this reason, seems to be more a part of the DOC frame of reference than the individual participant.

Summary

In summary, to Participant One, the LRRT is a Rail Trail, predominantly used for cycling, which is a community based project. It provides a recreational facility and public access to the area. It is, for this participant, strongly linked with environmental sustainability and conservation values and its purpose is to enable people to appreciate Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere and the natural values in the area.

Case Study Two: DOC Staff Member Two

Gender:	Male
Resident near the Rail Trail:	No
Stated interest in Cycling:	No

Involvement:

The Participant has been involved with the project since a very early stage, was responsible for including an idea for using the easement as a public access facility in the DOC Conservation Management Strategy (CMS).

What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

The participant's answer to this question was interesting. He firstly answered what he considered to be the real or true purpose of the Rail Trail and then indicated what he believed to be the way in which the LRRT Trust framed the purpose. The participant conceived the purpose of the Rail Trail to be threefold, a recreational facility with important environmental as well as historical elements. This interview was the only one where the historic values were mentioned in relation to the purpose of the Rail Trail.

It is interesting to note that the way in which the participant frames the purpose of the Rail Trail is quite different from the rest of the interview. It is much broader in scope, including the recreation and environmental aspects of the Rail Trail as equal with its historical value. This can be understood as the influence that the participant's employer has on his personal frame of reference. DOC publicly frames the LRRT as a heritage asset, but more significantly as a recreation facility, for example, it is listed under the 'activity finder' tab on the DOC website (DOC, n.d.). This indicates that DOC principally frames the LRRT in terms of activities, linking it strongly to recreation.

However, throughout the interview, the participant strongly emphasised the Rail Trail's rail heritage elements over and above the recreational or environmental aspects. This seems to indicate that the participant, when answering this question, did not identify the purpose he personally associates with the Rail Trail. Rather he identified what he regards as the proper or correct purpose more generally or the purpose associated with the LRRT by his employer. The participant noted that, in contrast to what he considers the true purpose of the Rail Trail, the LRRT Trust framed the purpose of the Rail Trail as "getting people on bikes and getting them out there and riding the Trail".

Through out the interview other comments made by the participant contribute to an understanding of his frame in terms of the purpose of the Rail Trail. These included a safety

element, in that he had hoped the Trail would “get a lot more bikes off the highway”. Likewise, the health benefit of having people biking was mentioned as another aspect of the purpose of the Rail Trail.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The participant’s personal attitude toward the Rail Trail was more difficult to decipher. Three separate times he stated that he was not against the Rail Trail. He made it very clear that, although he felt that other parties considered him to be against the Rail Trail, he was in support of the idea. He stated “I was seen as sort of being against the project and in actual fact I wasn’t and nobody knew the history that it was actually me that put it into the CMS”. However, although the participant identified his support of the idea of the Rail Trail, or of the project itself, he expressed that he was “wanting it done properly”. This idea that there is a proper and an improper to construct and manage the Rail Trail frequently came up throughout the interview.

Dominant Themes

The word frequency report for this participant was very revealing. Where the previous DOC participant’s list included as dominant nouns land and lake, neither of these words appeared in this participant’s list. Instead, the words station (24), historic (15), time (14), values (12) and heritage (9) featured highly². This reveals the strong emphasis on the heritage values of the Rail Trail, although it may be slightly skewed by the fact that the interview contained several questions about heritage not asked of DOC Staff Member One. Nonetheless, the heritage element of the Rail Trail was brought up by the participant himself many times throughout the interview and is the dominant theme. Thus, it can be seen that the problem frame of this participant is shaped by his interest in and value of historical issues.

What is the Rail Trail?

The participant generally referred to the LRRT as a Rail Trail, rarely using the term ‘Trail’ alone (three times). Moreover, the participant’s references to cycling or walking were

² The ten most frequent nouns included the words thing, things and something. These have been excluded from the analysis because they are the result of the particular mannerism of the participant who often says “that sort of thing”, “things like that” and so on.

minimal; the words cycle/cycling and walk/walking appearing only twice respectively. This strongly indicates that the participant frames the Rail Trail in terms of its value as a historical asset rather than a recreation facility. To the participant, the Rail Trail is, primarily, an archaeological site and he defined it as such a total of 8 times throughout the interview, a rather astonishing number. This way of framing the LRRT is demonstrably influenced by the participant's professional role. That DOC frames the LRRT as an historic asset is corroborated by a fact sheet on historic assets, which lists the LRRT as a piece of rail heritage managed by DOC (DOC, 2007). What makes this definition particularly interesting is that, although it is this participant's most dominant definition, the LRRT is not defined in this way by any of the other 10 participants. This is explored in more depth in Section 5.2.1.

Less significantly, the participant referred to the LRRT as a recreation facility, a multi use asset and a public access way. Of these, the Trail as a recreation facility appeared most frequently. This too seems to demonstrate the frame of reference held by the participant's employer, DOC. In the documentary evidence available, DOC frames the LRRT as a recreation primarily, evidenced by a press release regarding the opening day (Burt, 2006). The press release comments extensively on the cyclists and walkers utilising the rail trail as well as explicitly stating "The rail trail is set to become a major Banks Peninsula recreation and tourist attraction" (Burt, 2006). It is interesting to note that, in this document, the LRRT is overtly framed primarily as a recreation asset, which can be contrasted with this participant's primary frame of the LRRT as a rail heritage asset. This demonstrates a slippage between the frame of the particular individual and the organisation they represent more widely.

Interestingly, the participant framed this element as an extension of the railway's earlier function, with the race day and picnic trains providing an important recreational facility for Christchurch and its surrounding area. This links the recreation frame strongly to the primary frame communicated by the participant, that of the LRRT as a rail heritage facility.

Summary

The participant has a very strong focus on the rail heritage values of the LRRT. He defined the Rail Trail as an archaeological site and a historic asset and, linked with this, communicated a sense that there is a correct and incorrect way to construct and manage the Rail Trail. He stressed that he is not against the project, that he in fact was one of the

instigators. Finally, the way in which this participant frames the Rail Trail is very different from any of the other interviewees and why this might be will be explored in depth in the Discussion section.

4.2 Christchurch City Council

The Christchurch City Council (CCC) is a major stakeholder in the LRRT as they are one of the two local government bodies involved in the Trail. The Trail goes through the CCC area at its beginning in Hornby and at its end, in the one kilometre before Little River. The CCC is responsible for the construction of the first section of the Little River Rail Trail, from Hornby to Prebbleton. The representative was too busy to interview personally, but answered some email questions.

Case Study Three: CCC Consultation Leader.

Gender: Male

Resident near the Rail Trail: No

Stated interest in Cycling: No

Involvement: *The Participant is the Consultation Leader for the Little River Rail Trail section constructed by the CCC.*

What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

The participant answered this question by outlining the formal objectives of the CCC with regards to the LRRT. These are:

- “1. Assist economic growth of the region e.g. tourism
2. Assist safety and personal security for cyclists and pedestrians.
3. Improve access and mobility
4. Protect and promote public health through exercise
5. Ensure environmental sustainability.”

The objectives reveal a strong emphasis on the cycling aspect of the LRRT, as a form of recreation, as exercise (for health benefits) and as a way of stimulating economic growth and protecting the environment.

Aside from these, other comments reveal more of the CCC's official understanding of the purpose of the LRRT. A significant aspect is the promotion of sustainable or alternative transport. Another is the mainstreaming of cycling as an activity. Documentary evidence supports this. Available online is a report from the Riccarton/Wigram Community Board, the purpose of which is to "recommend to the Council the preferred option for providing a pathway link from Christchurch to the developing Christchurch to Little River Rail Trail" (Ferigo, 2007). Throughout the report, the LRRT is referred to as "a combined walkway/cycleway from Christchurch to Little River, following the alignment of the original rail line where practical" (Ferigo, 2007). This illustrates the way in which the CCC emphasises the cycling element of the LRRT over other possible frames.

The participant's personal view, or personal frame of reference as to what the purpose of the Rail Trail is, was not revealed.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

This was not ascertained.

Dominant Themes

The dominant themes of the interview are alternative transport, sustainability and environmental protection. The word frequency report was more difficult to apply in this case because the interview was extremely short. However, the words cyclist and transport appeared in a list of the ten most commonly used nouns. What this indicates is an emphasis on the Rail Trail as a conduit for transport and, in particular, cyclists. The participant indicated that a major impact of the project is the promotion of sustainable modes of transport. Likewise the participant notes the importance of the Trail in promoting cycling in particular. The emphasis on cycling rather than walking is also illustrated by the fact that the participant refers to cycling five times and to walking only once.

What is the Rail Trail?

The participant referred to the LRRT as a Rail Trail only three times throughout the interview. Rather, he used the terms ‘project’, ‘facility’, ‘pathway’ or ‘Trail’. What this indicates is that the participant does not have a strong sense of the LRRT as a Rail Trail, but rather perceives it as a path or facility which people will use in various ways to transport themselves. Moreover, it is interesting to note that this interview is one of the only ones where the Otago Central Rail Trail (OCRT) was not mentioned. It is evident that this participant does not frame the LRRT as a Rail Trail as much as simply, in his own words, a ‘pathway’.

It is interesting, therefore, to compare the interview results with the publicly available report from the CCC concerning the LRRT (Ferigo, 2007). Throughout the report the LRRT is referred to most frequently as the Trail, as well as being called a walkway/cycleway, pathway and link. This provides supporting documentary evidence that the participant’s framing of the LRRT as a pathway is indicative of the way in which his employer, the CCC frames the LRRT. It illustrates the way in which the participant’s personal frame of reference is heavily influenced by that of his employer.

Other elements of the participant’s frame of reference include the LRRT as a public access way, a commuter link, a recreation facility, a tourist attraction and a cycleway. This diverse array of definitions indicates the multiple objectives held by the CCC for the LRRT. It also reflects the portion of the LRRT that the CCC is particularly concerned with – the link between Christchurch and Prebbleton. Although the LRRT as a recreational facility is included in the Participant’s frame, it is secondary to the more dominant frame of the LRRT as a commuter link. This can be attributed partially to the particular interest of the CCC. However, it may also be because the section between Christchurch and Prebbleton is likely to be more utilised as a commuter link rather than, for example, the section between Motukarara and Little River, which is more likely to be utilised for recreation.

Summary

The Participant appears to frame the LRRT primarily as a commuter link, as well as an opportunity to promote sustainable transport and cycling. Although many other aspects were also identified, such as tourism, recreation, public access and so on, these were not expanded on. Perhaps the most interesting element of this Participant’s particular frame was the lack of

emphasis on the LRRT as a Rail Trail. Not only did the participant rarely refer to it in this way, he used a range of other terms in its place, such as facility, project and, in particular, pathway.

4.3 Fish and Game

Fish and Game are stakeholders in the LRRT due to their involvement in fishing and hunting. Waihora/Lake Ellesmere is a significant game area for hunters and anglers in North Canterbury and the LRRT passes through land previously used for hunting. Fish and Game represents the interests of this group.

Case Study Four: Fish and Game Staff Member

Gender:	Male
Resident near the Rail Trail:	Yes
Stated interest in Cycling:	No

Involvement:	<i>The Participant has been involved with the LRRT due to his employment at Fish and Game. Moreover, he lives in Lincoln, near the Prebbleton-Lincoln Section. The Participant has also been involved in a dispute over the route the Rail Trail will take through Ahuriri Lagoon.</i>
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What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

The Participant frames the Rail Trail in terms of its value as a recreation facility and, in particular, to enable people to appreciate the area. He stated “the main purpose of the Rail Trail is to basically connect the city with its great outdoors which is the Lake itself”. He also noted “I think, as a larger group, hunters do want people to have better appreciation of their wetlands rather than thinking of them as muddy places that breed mosquitoes and are good for nothing”. Thus, through the Participant’s frame, the purpose of the Rail Trail, both to him personally and for the hunters he represents, is to connect people with the Lake and thereby raise awareness of its value.

The participant also noted that, as a resident of the Trail, the purpose of the Trail is to enable people to cycle safely between Lincoln and Prebbleton. This reveals a slight shift between his frame as an employee of Fish and Game, where cycling does not receive a mention, and his frame as an individual resident near the Rail Trail. It also reflects the different uses for the different sections of the Rail Trail, in that the earlier sections are more utilised for commuting and the later sections for recreation.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The Participant emphasised that he personally thinks “it’s a wonderful bloody idea”. He noted that he personally had experienced positive impacts from the Rail Trail due to his daughter using the Rail Trail as a recreation facility with her friends. When asked if he had experienced any negative impacts he stated “absolutely not. We think it’s a great thing, yeah”.

Dominant Themes

The most dominant noun in the word frequency list for this participant is area (32 occurrences). At first it was difficult to ascertain why. However, the answer lies in the lengthy discussion of the proposed LRRT route, which will go through the Ahuriri Lagoon. This area has been a closed game reserve for decades and the hunters and some residents are unhappy that the LRRT will cross this area. In their view it will disturb the birdlife in this area, as illustrated by the Participant’s comment that utilising the area for the LRRT would be “sort of basically destroying the purpose of the area as a wilds, and you know, wetlands habitat”. Thus, the participant spoke extensively about this issue, which therefore was a dominant theme throughout.

The most commonly used nouns list also contained the words lake (11), birds (9), water (9) and wetlands (9), indicating a strong emphasis on the environmental aspects of the LRRT. This can be particularly attributed to the participant’s frame as a fish and game employee, as the discussion regarding the Rail Trail directed at him as a resident near the Trail do not involve any of these themes.

Finally, the word hunter also appears on the noun list, which is to be expected given the nature of the organisation. The restrictions imposed on hunting due to the construction of the

Rail Trail were discussed, however, the participant was reluctant to suggest that the impact of the Trail on hunters had been significant. Rather, the participant emphasised the hunters' support for the Rail Trail. Similarly, the participant stressed that the hunting community placed a strong value on sustainability, on conserving resources in order to have access to them in the future. This comes through as a dominant theme in the interview, framing the Rail Trail as a way of raising awareness of both environmental and sustainability issues as well as increasing public understanding of Fish and Game's role in this.

What is the Rail Trail?

The participant most frequently referred to the LRRT as a 'Rail Trail', rarely using the term 'Trail' in isolation. He referred to the Rail Trail as a cycle way only twice, and then in terms of his frame as a resident near the Trail. The most significant aspect of the participant's frame is the Rail Trail as a public access way. This is evident in the frequent references to the Rail Trail bringing people to the lake and connecting people with the area.

The Rail Trail was also referred to as a recreation facility by this participant, when he mentioned the benefit of living near the Trail. He specifically identified that his daughter uses the Rail Trail for recreation with her friends. Again, this reflects the differences between the frame the participant has as an employee of Fish and Game, framing the Rail Trail as public access and his frame as a resident, perceiving the Rail Trail in terms of recreation.

Summary

The participant frames the LRRT in two slightly different ways. Firstly, as an employee of Fish and Game, he frames the Trail as a public access way with the purpose of educating people about, and connecting the public with, the Lake. The environment is a dominant concept for this participant, reflected in the frequent references to the Lake, birds, water and wetlands. The participant views the Rail Trail as a way of protecting the area by raising awareness of environmental issues and causing the general public to care more about the area.

As a resident, the participant frames the Rail Trail as a recreation facility that enables his daughter and other residents to safely travel for recreation. This also reflects the different perceived uses of the Rail Trail on its different sections.

4.4 Little River Residents

The Little River residents are stakeholders in the LRRT, due to their proximity to the end of the Rail Trail. It is likely that, if projections for use are borne out in reality, the numbers of visitors at Little River will be much greater, particularly during events. Moreover, the final one kilometre into Little River is yet to be completed and the proposed route will follow several internal roads within the township, rather than follow the main highway. This would bring the users of the Rail Trail into much closer proximity with the residents. One member of the Little River community was interviewed for this project.

Case Study Five: Little River Resident – Male (LR Res. Male)

Gender:	Male
Resident near the Rail Trail:	Yes
Stated interest in Cycling:	No

Involvement:	<i>The participant is a medium term resident in Little River, and also works out of his home there. He is resident on one of the roads where the Rail Trail is proposed to go. Moreover, he owns some farm land on the eastern side of the highway, where the LRRT was originally planned to go.</i>
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What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

When asked what the purpose of the LRRT was, the participant responded “well in some ways it’s a deep seated envy of the Otago [Rail Trail] experience I can see, they want to emulate or do what um has happened down in Middelmarsh. It often comes up, you know, look at the Middelmarsh experience, look at Middelmarsh”. Firstly, this indicates what the participant views as another group’s perspective. Who exactly ‘they’ is, is not made clear, although it is likely this refers to the LRRT Trust and/or the CCC project staff. The participant perceives that their rationale for creating the Rail Trail was for the economic benefits derived from such a facility, as experienced by residents near the OCRT.

The participant himself frames the purpose as the economic benefits flowing on from increased visitor numbers. It is important to note that the participant also expressed doubt as to the magnitude of this benefit. Nonetheless, the way in which he frames the purpose focuses almost entirely on the potential economic growth.

However, the participant also implied the purpose of the Rail Trail as being a recreational facility, for example he repeatedly referred to cyclists or cycling (28 references to cycle or cycling). Moreover, he made a distinction between racing cyclists and recreational cyclists. He noted that “you have to be careful of [racing cyclists] but they’re a different, a different kettle of fish they’re just, they’re not recreational cyclists”. The implication is that the cyclists using the Rail Trail are using it for recreation, and that these cyclists are different from those using the road.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The participant spent a large part of the interview explaining the issues that he and fellow residents have with the proposed route via Morrisons and Barclays Roads. He stated “their revised choice of path through our streets is insensitive to the people here, the residents”. The participant presented a variety of reasons for this position and is evidently vehemently opposed to the proposed route.

However, the participant repeated emphasised that, although he strongly disagrees with that particular choice of route, he has “no issues with the Rail Trail in its concept and its, um, what it’s trying to achieve and I wish the Rail Trail Trust well”. This point is reiterated throughout the interview particularly in terms of his support for what he regards as the original plan to have the LRRT follow the eastern side of the highway into Little River. On six separate occasions he stated that he is willing to contribute land in order to have the LRRT follow what he feels is the best option, the eastern side of the highway.

He noted that he does not believe the LRRT will have any significant impact on the economic growth in the area. He also emphasised that, in his opinion, the LRRT had the potential to decrease the residents most valued amenity, privacy.

Dominant Themes

The noun frequency list confirms the significance of the route issue as a dominant theme. The most common nouns include road (44), highway (29), Council (28) and Board (21). Council refers to the Christchurch City Council and Board to the Community Board. All of these words are referring to the conflict over the proposed route. This issue dominates the entire interview.

The participant used the word 'land' 21 times throughout the interview. An investigation reveals that 6 of these are references to the land he owns and is willing to contribute part of for the Rail Trail. Another 10 are references to a piece of land owned by a member or members of the LRRT. The participant expressed his sense that the route had been diverted from its original course because the land had been acquired by Trust members who wanted to operate a tourist facility. This is perceived by the participant as extremely suspect.

What is the Rail Trail?

The way in which the participant frames the Rail Trail is somewhat different to that of many of the other interviewees. To him, primarily, the LRRT is a route. This may be because the issue of the proposed route has become such a major preoccupation. The participant relatively regularly refers to it as a Trail (14), rather than a Rail Trail (21). Moreover, on three occasions the participant refers to the Rail Trail as the Eastern Trail, reflecting the emphasis he places on having the LRRT follow the eastern side of the highway. The way in which this participant frames the Rail Trail therefore is significantly shaped by the conflict over the route and effectively results in the participant defining the Rail Trail in this manner.

When asked what he would define success as, he responded "For me, success now would be for Council to get off their hands and everyone just look at the greater picture and say, everyone, I can't think of anyone who is against the eastern Trail". Not only does he define the Rail Trail as the Eastern Trail, but he explicitly defines success as the Rail Trail following that route.

Summary

This participant's frame of reference is significantly shaped by the conflict over the route that the Rail Trail will take in the final kilometre coming into Little River. The extent to which this has occurred is illustrated by the use of the term 'Eastern Trail', utilised by the participant on several occasions to refer to the LRRT. The participant sees the LRRT primarily as a cycleway (the words cycle/cycling appear 28 times) and strongly opposes the currently proposed route via Morrisons and Barclays Roads. He instead prefers that the route follow the eastern side of the highway. The interview is dominated by the participant explaining the reasons for this, including privacy and safety.

4.5 Little River Rail Trail Trust

The Little River Rail Trail Trust has been set up to obtain finance and manage the LRRT. The history of the Trust is quite complex. Initially there was a working group set up to investigate the possibility, and subsequently there were three separate groups operating. Finally, the Little River Rail Trail Charitable Trust was set up, and the Rail Trail gained momentum after this time. The LRRT Trust is one of the key stakeholders and is also made up mainly of community members. One member of the Trust was interviewed for this research.

Case Study Six: Little River Rail Trail Trust Member

Gender:	Male
Resident near the Rail Trail:	Yes
Stated interest in Cycling:	Yes

Involvement:	<i>The Participant is a member of the Little River Rail Trail Trust and has been involved with the LRRT from the early meetings. He also lives near the Rail Trail, in Prebbleton.</i>
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What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

The participant framed the purpose of the Rail Trail in multiple ways and noted that the Rail Trail had ‘several’ purposes depending on the section. Firstly he framed it as a community asset with a variety of uses. He also noted economic growth and regional development as part of its rationale and mentions its commuter function. However, two most significant aspects of the participant’s frame are the Rail Trail’s ability to raise awareness of environmental issues and the promotion of sustainable alternative transport.

In terms of the environmental aspect, the participant said “there is quite a strong educational um, biodiversity stuff that comes through as well, particularly along the edge of the Lake, educating people about what happens you know when you just dump stuff in the river upstream and where it winds up...”. Thus, for this participant, the purpose of the Rail Trail is to provide education about the environment and, in particular, the issues surrounding the Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere. This seems to reflect the perspective of the LRRT Trust more generally, as evidenced by the environmental emphasis on their website (LRRT Trust, 2007a).

The significance of the Rail Trail as a way of promoting sustainable alternative transport is also significant to this participant in terms of his framing the purpose of the LRRT. This is illustrated in the participant’s statement that “the greater vision I have, I suppose, is for an entire network of um, trails and things that link to a world where we’re a little less automobile dependant and more active transport dependant”. This seems to reflect the participant’s personal frame of reference rather than that of the Trust more generally, evidenced by the fact that no mention of these issues occurs on the official website (LRRT Trust, 2007) or in any public statements produced by the LRRT Trust.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The participant was asked why he got involved with the project, to which he answered “I thought it was a good idea!”. It is clear, throughout the interview, that the Participant is supportive of the LRRT, indeed his involvement with the Trust makes this effectively self evident. When asked what negative effects he has experienced as a resident near the Trail, he replied “No, but I’m biased”. Clearly his frame as a resident is heavily influenced by his frame as a Trust member or as an individual, rather than the other way around.

The participant noted the personal benefit he has received from the Rail Trail and from, in particular, the Lincoln to Prebbleton section, is that his son occasionally uses it to cycle to school. This is interesting because the commuting function of the Rail Trail appears in the interview only three times, and is not elaborated on at all by the participant. This seems to be an element of the frame of the Trust but not part of the participant's personal frame. This reveals a slippage between the different frames this participant inhabits.

Dominant Themes

One of the most dominant nouns throughout the interview is the word 'vision', which appears 14 times. The concept of the Rail Trail as a vision is predominant throughout the interview, particularly in terms of the Trail as an ideal vision or as part of a larger vision. This appears to be the participant's personal frame, the way in which he personally perceives the Rail Trail. It indicates that he spoke primarily out of his personal frame, and that his frame as a member of the Trust is relatively secondary.

Another dominant theme is the Rail Trail as a community asset. This is demonstrated by the fact that the word community features highly throughout the interview (10 occurrences). The participant frames the Rail Trail as emanating out of the community and being created for the community to use in a multitude of ways. It is in some ways related to the idea of the Rail Trail as a vision in that it frames the Rail Trail as a kind of ideal entity rather than a real thing. This may be because of the way in which the participant views the role of the Trust, as "keepers of the vision" and it may also be partially due to the fact that the Rail Trail has not yet been completed and therefore does not fully exist to the participant.

Moreover, this way of framing the LRRT as a community asset can also be generalised to the LRRT Trust more widely. This is strongly supported by documentary evidence, for example, the word community appears on the LRRT Trust website 36 times. Moreover, it is explicitly framed in this way in several public documents produced by the LRRT. For example, in a newsletter produced by the Trust, it is stated that "The Rail Trail has shown how a project like this can strengthen the bonds within a community" (LRRT Trust, 2006b). Likewise, it is stated several times throughout the various newsletters and the website that the LRRT is a community project (LRRT, 2007; LRRT 2006b). It is evident from this that the LRRT Trust more generally regards the Trail as a community project and it seems likely that this has had a

significant influence on the way in which this participant, in particular, has framed the Rail Trail.

Finally, a third dominant theme is the multiple use aspect of the Rail Trail. This is illustrated by the high usage of the word ‘section’ (11 occurrences). The participant framed the different sections of the Rail Trail as having different uses, emphasising the way in which the Trail can be used by many different users in different ways.

What is the Rail Trail?

To this participant, the Rail Trail is primarily two things. It is a community asset and a multiuse asset. For the participant, these two elements are linked, as is clear from his statement, “so yeah, it is essentially a community asset that um, will serve the many and various needs of different members of the community in different ways”. This is further emphasised when the participant framed the LRRT Trust as a community trust, “I think that the Trustees are all part of the community and the greater community that this is running through”. The LRRT, then, is created by members of the community for other members of the community to use in a variety of ways. Related to this is the definition of a link that connects communities. It is also emphasised by the variety ways in which the Participant defined the Rail Trail by its uses, for example as a cycleway, commuter link or recreation facility.

Perhaps one of the most interesting and unique aspects of this interview is that the participant referred to the LRRT as a Rail Trail only four times throughout the interview. Interviews of comparable length contain the reference more than 10 times. Instead the participant used ‘Trail’ most often to refer to it (18 occurrences), or referred to particular sections rather than the Rail Trail as a whole. When asked what he means by Trail, he said “We discussed for sometime what was an appropriate thing to call it, cycleway doesn’t appeal to everybody”. What this reveals is that the participant does not personally frame the LRRT as a Rail Trail, primarily, but as a conduit for alternative transport, largely cycling. The heritage aspect of Rail Trails more generally does not appear to be incorporated into this participant’s personal frame of reference although, when prompted, he acknowledged this aspect.

This is emphasised by the way in which the participant defined the Rail Trail as part of a larger web of Trails. He stated that “[the Rail Trail] would be, um, basically the jewel in the

crown of a larger network”. It seems likely that this network would consist largely of tracks and trails unrelated to the old railway network, and therefore this further highlights the participant’s primary frame of the LRRT as a trail, rather than specifically a Rail Trail.

Summary

This participant framed the LRRT in a very particular way, firstly as a vision rather than a concrete reality. Secondly he regards it as a community asset that can be used in a multitude of ways, emerging out of the community itself. Significantly, the rail heritage aspect of the LRRT does not appear to feature strongly in the Participant’s particular frame, as he most often referred to it simply as a Trail. Moreover, he sees the LRRT as part of a larger network of Trails. Finally, concepts of environmental awareness and sustainable, alternative development dominate throughout the interview and form the basis for this participant’s understanding of the purpose of the LRRT itself.

4.6 Motukarara Residents

Motukarara is a small township on the LRRT route. At present, it is where the main section of the completed Rail Trail begins. Work on the remaining sections is beginning and there is a good deal of discussion regarding where this might be, although little if any consultation has occurred and none of the residents spoken to appear to know for sure where it will go. Three members of the community were interviewed, two men and one woman. One of the men interviewed declined to have the interview recorded and for this reason it is not included in the write up.

Case Study Seven: Motukarara Resident – Female (Mot. Res. Female)

Gender: Female

Resident near the Rail Trail: Yes

Stated interest in Cycling: Yes

Involvement: *The Participant lives near the beginning of the completed section of the Rail Trail currently and it is also likely that the Rail Trail will, when completed, pass down the road in the front of her house.*

What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

When the participant was asked what the purpose of the Rail Trail is, she answered that it is “to make people who would use a bike Trail feel like they’re important, feel like they’re part of the community of New Zealand”. In this statement, the participant indicated that she believes that the Rail Trail is intended to mainstream cycling. This is emphasised in other statements where the participant indicated that she believes the purpose of the Rail Trail is to encourage people to cycle more. The participant also discussed the dangers of cycling on the road and indicates that she believes the purpose of the Rail Trail is to provide a safe alternative for cyclists. From the interview, it seems that the safety aspect is the most important element of the Rail Trail for this participant.

Less significantly, the participant also mentions the economic and tourism implications of the Rail Trail as part of its rationale. She noted, “it seems to be quite a tourist attraction and I think maybe, some, a bit more business will pop up around here and maybe some more bed and breakfasts at either end of the Trail, for the tourists”.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The participant indicated that she feels the Rail Trail is a good idea. When asked what she thinks about the rail trail she answered “Um, I think it’s great for Canterbury and for people who live here on which to ride safely”. It is possible that this statement indicates not so much what she personally feels about the Rail Trail but rather what she thinks is the correct answer to this question. She noted that she has used the Rail Trail as a walker and found it “sort of a desolate area whereas I think I prefer walking around the domain where I live”. She believes that walking the Rail Trail is quite different cycling it and noted “as I have walked it I have always thought, oh it’s a bit quiet”. However, the participant indicated that she plans to use it in the future and cycle it when her son is old enough. She mentioned that prior to the birth of her son (her first child) she was involved in cycling but that having the baby prevents her from cycling now, which is why she has not yet cycled the Rail Trail.

When asked about any benefits she personally has derived from living near the Rail Trail, the participant stated that the Rail Trail has increased awareness of Motukarara and has stimulated some community pride. She noted, “in the vaguest sense I think that it’s kind of

cool that it's in our neighbourhood. I think it's like, we don't live in the middle of nowhere, we live somewhere where there's a racetrack and a really cool bike trail". Of the negative impacts, the participant indicated that she personally has not experienced any negative impacts nor does she anticipate any negative impacts affecting her.

Overall, it seems that the participant views the Rail Trail as a good idea, but does not anticipate many particular effects for her personally, either negative or positive. She therefore is supportive of the idea in that it 'puts Motukarara on the map' and may increase cycle safety. She also plans to utilize the Rail Trail as a cycle way in the future, although as a walker she does not particularly enjoy it due to its desolate nature.

Dominant Themes

The most dominant theme throughout the interview is community and family. The participant used the word community 21 times throughout. Moreover, Motukarara appears six times, and she also made frequent reference to New Zealand (with Zealand appearing 6 times). Often, in her answers, the participant referred to the positive and negative impacts of the Rail Trail on the community rather than herself personally. Evidently, the participant does not particularly focus on the impacts to herself personally, but she is very aware of the wider impacts for the community she is part of. It seems as though the effects on the community are much more significant to her on a personal level. The participant is highly involved in local community groups and this has a significant impact upon the way in which she frames the Rail Trail.

In addition, her family, and particularly her child, also feature highly in the interview, with both the words baby and her son's name appearing in her most commonly used nouns list. Her recent motherhood has also had a profound impact upon her personal frame of reference, both in terms of shaping her involvement in the community and in its impact on her activities in that she has not yet cycled the Rail Trail.

What is the Rail Trail?

The participant is one of very few participants who identified the Rail Trail as a walk way. She made five references to walking throughout her interview, walking therefore actually outnumbering her references to cycling. This may be due to the fact that she is not currently involved in cycling due to the birth of her first child, but is still surprising as she indicates that

she has previously been a cyclist. Thus, the participant defines the Rail Trail as both a walk way and a cycle way. Although the participant consistently referred to the LRRT as a Rail Trail, the heritage element did not appear in the interview.

Summary

The participant framed the Rail Trail particularly in terms of its impacts upon the community she is a part of. She also placed a strong emphasis on cyclist safety as being part of the purpose of the Rail Trail. Her frame is strongly influenced by her roles as mother and as community member and she emphasised these over herself as an individual. This is particularly illustrated by the reasons she gave for not attending public meetings about the Rail Trail, saying “I haven’t felt like I had anything to say or really, I was happy for them to do whatever they wanted”. However, she noted that she personally benefited “in the vaguest sense” by the Rail Trail drawing attention to Motukarara.

Case Study Eight: Motukarara Resident – Male (Mot. Res. Male)

Gender:	Male
Resident near the Rail Trail:	Yes
Stated interest in Cycling:	No

Involvement:	<i>The Participant lives near the beginning of the completed section of the Rail Trail currently and it is also likely that the Rail Trail will, when completed, pass down the road in the front of his house. He is also involved in a community group that has been affected by the LRRT due to increased pressure on the toilet facilities in the Waihora Domain</i>
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What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

The participant answered the question regarding the purpose of the Rail Trail by saying, “there are some, a decent sized part of the population that just wants to ride their bike long distances and in a weird way I sort of see the Rail Trail as an alternative to the roads I guess”. What this indicates is that the participant understands the purpose of the Rail Trail as being

providing a cycleway for cyclists. This does not seem to be the participant's personal frame but rather his understanding of the rationale behind the Rail Trail. He also mentioned the economic benefits thought to be associated with the Rail Trail related tourism, although he expressed his personal doubts about the likelihood of these occurring.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

Although the participant expressed significant concern about the negative impacts of the Rail Trail, he stated that he is not against the idea. In answer to the question about what he thinks about the Rail Trail, he answered "I don't know. Um, I'm not against it but it's hard for me to see it bringing anything useful into the area". This illustrates well the overall attitude of this participant toward the Rail Trail. He indicated that he personally has not experienced any particular impacts of the Rail Trail, either negative or positive. However, he did identify several negative impacts experienced by fellow community members and by the community groups he is involved in. For example, he is involved with the Waihora Domain Entertainment Committee, a group which administers the private domain in Motukarara. The participant described the increased pressure on the Domain facilities from the Rail Trail users. The participant's strong involvement in the Motukarara community has had a significant effect on his personal frame of the Rail Trail leading him to have a relatively negative view of it, despite the fact that he personally had not experienced any negative impacts.

Dominant Themes

Cycling and, in particular, cyclists, are a dominant theme throughout this interview. The participant commented at length about his issues with the Rail Trail that stem from his understanding of the nature of cyclists. For example, he was sceptical about the extent to which the Rail Trail will stimulate economic growth, saying "I don't think it'll actually bring any business in. It might sell a few sodas down at our local snack bar, but most of the people that are serious bikers pack in and pack out their own stuff". Moreover, the participant also commented extensively about his perspective that 'serious' cyclists tend to lack an appreciation for rural values and therefore may represent a 'bad element'.

Community is another dominant theme, due perhaps to the participant's heavy involvement in community activities and groups. He used the word community 13 times, often communicating his personal alignment with community issues and values. This emphasises

the impact that his role as a community member has on his personal frame of reference, a concept that dominates the interview.

What is the Rail Trail?

The Rail Trail, to this participant is primarily cycleway, with a significant emphasis on ‘serious’ cyclists. He mentioned that the Rail Trail would be successful to him if families utilised it, but as this is not the case he does not regard it as a community asset. For this reason the Rail Trail, to this participant, is a cycling facility for a segment of the New Zealand population and for small number of ‘bicycle tourists’. He did not refer to the LRRT as a walkway, nor did he mention the heritage aspect of the Rail Trail.

Summary

Although the participant specifies that he is not against the Rail Trail, the way in which he frames the impacts and uses of the Rail Trail are predominantly negative. His frame of reference regarding the Rail Trail is strongly influenced by his role in community organisations and the effects on the community more widely are more strongly emphasised than his personal experiences with the Trail. The participant has significant concerns about the extent to which the Rail Trail will generate economic growth and also about the Rail Trail introducing a ‘bad element’ into the community.

4.7 Selwyn District Council

The Selwyn District Council (SDC) is a significant stakeholder in the LRRT as the Trail passes through the Selwyn District between Prebbleton and Motukarara. Although the Council was unwilling to fund the capital cost of the Rail Trail, they agreed to facilitate the construction and subsequently take over and maintain the Rail Trail.

Case Study Nine: Selwyn District Council Staff Member

Gender:	Male
Resident near the Rail Trail:	No
Stated interest in Cycling:	No

Involvement:

The Participant was involved on behalf of the SDC, in liaising between the SDC and the LRRT Trust. He also was heavily involved in applying to Land Transport NZ for funding of the capital cost of the LRRT.

What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

From the perspective of this participant in terms of his official role, the purpose of the Rail Trail is primarily focussed on providing an alternative transport link for commuting in the Selwyn District. He also emphasised the wider purposes associated with the Rail Trail, including the health benefits and the recreational aspects, increasing the general wellbeing of the ratepayers and others in the Selwyn District. The most significant aspect SDC's frame of the LRRT is the commuter aspect. This was the rationale supplied to Land Transport in the application for funding. For the SDC, the purpose of the Rail Trail is primarily to provide a commuter link between Prebbleton and Lincoln.

It appears that this is not specifically the participant's personal frame of reference, but rather that of his employer, the SDC, and that the participant adopts this frame of reference as he inhabits his role as an employee or representative of the SDC. However, it also seems as though the participant's personal frame of reference incorporates significant aspects of the SDC's more official frame, in that when he was asked about his personal frame he reiterated concepts of sustainable development and safe, alternative modes of transport.

The way in which the SDC frames the LRRT in a public sense is discussed in Section 5.1.3; however, it is important to note that this centres strongly on the sustainable transport aspect (SDC, 2006). However, the SDC also framed the LRRT somewhat differently, stating "We all need to work together to preserve this recreational facility" (SDC, 2006). This is a notable exception to the way in which the SDC generally frames the Trail and demonstrates the dynamic nature of framing in that it is not static and unitary, but subject to change.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The personal attitude of this participant is relatively more difficult to pin point. He talked extensively about the positive impacts that it has had and may potentially have but does not explicitly state his opinion of the Rail Trail. When asked about positive and negative effects

he has experienced as a resident, he reiterated those impacts identified as part of his role in the SDC. When asked why he became involved with the LRRT, he identified the reasons behind the SDC's involvement, saying "well my involvement's been on behalf of the council to establish the Rail Trail within the Selwyn District Council".

However, perhaps the clearest indication of his personal position is the fact that, in his role at the Council, he applied for funding for the Trust from Land Transport New Zealand in order to enable them to pay for the construction of the LRRT. This implies that the participant has a personal interest in the Rail Trail inasmuch as he shows a proactive approach to his involvement in an official capacity. Moreover, when asked about negative impacts of the Rail Trail, the participant noted that these are not serious and that there are few negative impacts. It seems, therefore, that the participant does not hold particularly strong personal opinions about the Rail Trail but that, as part of his role in the SDC, thinks it is a good idea and can have significant positive impacts for the region.

Dominant Themes

Two of the most commonly used nouns are facility (16 occurrences) and commuter (14 occurrences). This illustrates the significance of the Rail Trail as a commuter link and as a transport facility, themes which dominate the interview. It is important to reiterate that these concepts primarily form the SDC's frame of reference in terms of the Rail Trail. Thus, their dominance in this interview illustrates the extent to which the participant has incorporated these concepts into his personal frame of reference.

Moreover, the words Lincoln and Prebbleton also feature highly on the list of most commonly used nouns, illustrating the geographical boundaries of the way in which the participant frames the Rail Trail. Although the LRRT extends from Christchurch to Little River, at least in terms of the concept, the participant focused almost entirely on the section he is personally involved with – the section between Lincoln and Prebbleton. Although the Rail Trail is proposed to link up to Motukarara, this section is not yet completed and for this reason is not significantly discussed in the interview. The complete section dominates the frame of this participant.

What is the Rail Trail?

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this interview is the participant's statement that "we didn't even actually call it the Rail Trail, it became its own entity". For this participant, and the SDC, the Rail Trail is predominantly defined as a commuter link, as opposed to a recreation facility, to the extent that the facility is no longer referred to as a Rail Trail. The participant acknowledged the recreation aspect of the Rail Trail but focussed primarily on its commuter function. He explained that this is because this was the justification used to obtain funding from Land Transport New Zealand because their interest is the "transport of people and goods essentially, they're not there to provide for recreational opportunities". Moreover, in terms of the SDC itself, he noted "it [the Rail Trail] was seen as a bit of a warm fuzzy in terms of that type of thing at that time um but it only really gained momentum once we managed to hook into this concept of being able to justify it as a commuter type facility". Thus, for the participant, the Rail Trail is a commuter link for alternative transport, between Lincoln and Prebbleton.

The participant identified strongly with the cycleway aspect of the LRRT, referring to cycling 17 times throughout the interview, whereas walking is not mentioned at all. The participant also defined the Rail Trail as potentially being part of a larger web of Trails (3 occurrences) and as a multi-use asset (2 occurrences).

Whilst the recreation element was mentioned five times, the participant made it clear that despite his awareness of this frame, he does not specifically identify the Rail Trail in this way. This is also true of the framing of the LRRT as a tourist attraction. What this illustrates is the way in which an individual can be cognizant of other ways of defining a particular entity, and yet not specifically define it in that way on a personal or professional level.

Summary

The concept of sustainable, alternative transport is an important aspect of this participant's problem frame. This may be due to his particular role as a transport planner and his position in the Selwyn District Council. Moreover, it significantly reflects the influence that the SDC's particular frame has on the participant as an individual. The LRRT is defined primarily as a commuter link, to the extent that it is not referred to as a Rail Trail.

4.7 Spokes

Spokes is a local cycling advocacy group and is a stakeholder because of the significant cycling aspect of the LRRT. They note on their website that Spokes is “dedicated to including cycling as an everyday form of transport within local and regional planning in Canterbury, and in particular the Greater Christchurch area” (2007).

Case Study Ten: Spokes Representative

Gender: Male

Resident near the Rail Trail: No

Stated interest in Cycling: Yes

Involvement: *The participant is involved informally with the LRRT due to his interest in cycling and his involvement in Spokes and also in an official capacity through his role as a consultant.*

What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

For this participant, the purpose of the Rail Trail is primarily recreational. Moreover, he stated “it’s an opportunity for people to rediscover cycling...there’s lots and lots of people who used to cycle who’ve give up for a variety of reasons and um, so it’s an opportunity for them to get back into a not threatening environment”. Thus, the Rail Trail’s purpose also revolves significantly around cycling for this participant, which is not surprising given his level of interest in cycling. The participant indicated that, to him, the LRRT’s most important potential benefit is that “cycling has been regarded by a fair chunk of the population as a fringe activity and um, and something like the LRRT normalises this as an activity”.

The participant also cited economic development as an important aspect of the rationale for the LRRT, particularly in terms of referring to the impact the OCRT has had on communities in Central Otago. Community development is another significant aspect of this participant’s frame of reference, in that he stated “it’s an opportunity for um, community groups like Rotary or whatever they are to, you know, to invest their energy into something which is

incredibly purposeful”. He also noted that, from his perspective, part of the purpose of the LRRT is to increase people’s pride in their community.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The participant is very positive about the LRRT, evidenced by his involvement with the Trust on a voluntary basis. He believes the LRRT to be an important project, and stated “I see the um, the LRRT um in a similar category [to the OCRT], um, just way more important than the Otago Rail Trail because it is just so much closer to a big city...in terms of that the thing has got so much potential it will out do Central Otago in no time”.

Dominant Themes

The dominant theme of the interview is cycling, references to which occurred 20 times throughout. The participant’s involvement in cycling groups and his personal interest in cycling has had a significant impact on his personal frame of reference. He regards the LRRT as an opportunity to promote cycling as a form of recreation, but also to promote cycling as a priority for local government.

The other dominant theme is the LRRT as a community project, which is illustrated by the fact that the words community (12 occurrences) and project (7 occurrences) appear in the top ten nouns list. The participant described the LRRT as a community project, and also referred to the LRRT Trust as a community group or even as the community. The idea that the LRRT will be important for community development is key, as well as the view that the LRRT is a project that has come out of the community.

What is the Rail Trail?

To this participant, the Rail Trail is predominantly a cycleway. References to other elements, such as heritage values or walking, are entirely absent from the interview. The participant referred to it as a Rail Trail only twice, instead using the terms ‘project’ and ‘community initiative’ as well as ‘Trail’, ‘pathway’ or ‘cycleway’. This illustrates the emphasis the participant places on defining the LRRT as a community project, as outlined above, and as a cycleway, rather than specifically as a Rail Trail.

The participant also defined the Rail Trail as a multiple use asset, highlighting its different uses in terms of being for both recreation and commuting, although the recreational element is emphasised.

Summary

For this participant, two elements of his frame of reference dominate, the LRRT as a cycleway and as a community project. His interest and involvement in cycling and in community groups significantly impact upon his personal frame. Although he acknowledged the commuter aspect of the LRRT, he emphasised the recreational elements more strongly. He is involved mainly in a voluntary capacity, which signifies his personal interest in the LRRT and his view that it is a worthy initiative.

4.8 Wairewa Runanga

The Wairewa Runanga is a significant stakeholder in the LRRT as they have been heavily involved in its construction, specifically in the Birdlings Flat to the Little River Pub section. They have a strong interest in that area, in particular Te Waihora, due to its cultural, spiritual and historical significance as a mahinga kai (food basket). Another Runanga, Te Taumutu, also has a considerable interest in the area, but the representative was not able to be interviewed. It is important to note that all of the local Runanga have an interest in the area surrounding Te Waihora and Te Wairewa. Ideally, several representatives would have been interviewed to establish more broadly the views of the different Runanga. However, time constraints on this particular research project meant that only one representative was interviewed.

Case Study 11: Wairewa Runanga Representative

Gender: Male

Resident near the Rail Trail: No

Stated interest in Cycling: Yes

Involvement: *The participant has been involved in the LRRT since its inception and continues to be involved in the*

negotiations surrounding the final 1 kilometre into Little River.

What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

From the participant's perspective, the primary purpose of the Rail Trail is to provide an opportunity for the Runanga to tell their stories. He stated "so for us, it's about re-establishing the stories of the past". He specifically noted that this is the frame of the Runanga, although the participant appears to strongly identify with this frame on a personal level. Moreover, the participant identified other, more secondary purposes behind the Rail Trail, such as increasing opportunities for tourism and raising awareness of the issues surrounding the Te Waihora.

The participant also acknowledged other ways of framing the purpose of the Rail Trail. When asked why, in his opinion, the LRRT was created, he answered "the people I know who are running the Trust are cycle enthusiasts, so it's more about cycling". Although he indicated a personal interest in cycling he does not appear to have incorporated this aspect into his personal frame of reference in terms of the Rail Trail.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

Early in the interview, the participant stated that the Runanga was initially opposed to the construction of the Rail Trail, due to the historic grievances held by the Runanga regarding the rail way itself. This is supported by documentary evidence indicating that part of the Ngai Tahu Treaty settlement focused in part on "Crown actions taking land under both the Public Works Act and Scenery Preservation Act for the purposes of roads, **railway** and scenic reserve [emphasis my own]" (Office of Treaty Settlements, 1997). Moreover, Robin Wybrow, from the Wairewa Runanga commented on this issue during the public meeting held by the Trust in 2006. The minutes of that meeting state that Wybrow indicated that "initially the Runanga were against the Trail" (LRRT Trust, 2006a: 3) and, moreover, that "The Railway was built to haul timber from Banks Peninsula. Some land was also confiscated in the process. This was a cause of discontent for local Māori" (LRRT Trust, 2006a: 3).

There was also a concern about littering and defecation by Rail Trail users, which would adversely impact upon the ecology of the area. However, the participant noted that when it

was recognised that the LRRT could provide a platform for telling the stories these issues were resolved and the Runanga then supported the idea.

As for the participant himself, his attitude seems to be largely positive in that he regards the LRRT as an important opportunity for the Runanga and in terms of the positive impacts more largely. However, he is also aware of the conflicts surrounding and potential negative effects of the Trail.

Dominant Themes

The dominant theme in the interview is story telling. The participant emphasised the importance of the Rail Trail as an opportunity for the Runanga to tell their stories and to “have our input on the land, on the landscape. Because you know Māori input in the landscape is diminished and you just don’t have that control or have that chance to impact so we see you know having the access to the Rail Trail is our chance to do that”. This is further illustrated by the frequent use of the word story/stories, appearing 10 times throughout the interview. It is an important aspect of the Rail Trail for the participant, and has a strong influence on his personal frame of reference.

Interestingly, the words land and community also feature highly throughout the interview, illustrating the strong presence of the concept of a holistic approach to the Rail Trail. The participant stated, “we have our social, our economic, our spiritual our, um, cultural sense that they’re all underlying things for us, so it’s not just a Rail Trail, it’s about plantings, it’s about the health of the Lake, it’s about the streams, um, biodiversity and everything, so it’s all of those issues wrapped into one”. This concept was a significant theme throughout the interview.

Finally, the third powerful theme in this interview was the strong distinction made by the participant between the way in which he, and the Runanga he represents, frame the Rail Trail and the way in which other groups perceive it. This is evident in his statements regarding the difference between the Birdlings Flat to the Little River Pub section, and the difference in values of the different stakeholders. The participant emphasised the importance of the social and historical aspects of the Rail Trail, whereas he perceives other stakeholders to identify with the more recreational elements. These differences are a common theme throughout the interview.

What is the Rail Trail?

The initial opposition from the Runanga toward the LRRT was due primarily to the grief associated with the historical construction of the railway, intended to clear the forests that once dominated the landscape on the peninsula. It is interesting, then, that the participant stated, “we don’t call it the Rail Trail. To us, we call it Te Ara A Tutekawa, and that means, the Trail of Tutekawa”. This illustrates the radical point of difference the participant has in defining what the Rail Trail is. The participant does use the term Rail Trail to refer to the Trail, but he also noted that, to the Runanga, it is not only a Rail Trail, because of the many other issues connected to the facility, it is a much broader concept.

Moreover, the participant defines the Rail Trail as both a cycleway and a walkway. Although cycling dominates, walking is still strongly identified in terms of what the Rail Trail is. The participant is one of very few who refers to the Rail Trail specifically as a walkway. Finally, perhaps the most powerful definition framed by the participant, is the LRRT as a platform for sharing the stories of the Runanga and the area. In this sense, for the participant, the LRRT is not an end in itself, but rather a means to an end.

Summary

The participant supports the idea of the Rail Trail, although this is tempered by his perception of the potential negative impacts and the conflicts surrounding it. He frames the Rail Trail as a platform for telling the stories of his Runanga and of the area and emphasises the complex nature of the Rail Trail, encompassing the historical, cultural and spiritual values of the area. He noted that there is a distinction between the section of the Rail Trail the Runanga is responsible and the rest of the LRRT, and that this is emphasised by the fact that they do not call it a Rail Trail, but rather Te Ara A Tutekawa. This is because Tutekawa had an important Pa in that area, the biggest in the South Island. This participant’s frame of reference is significantly influenced by that of the Wairewa Runanga, both through his employment and his affiliation with that Runanga.

4.9 Waihora Ellesmere Trust

The Waihora Ellesmere Trust (WET) has become involved with the LRRT due to their interest in the area. WET is a community trust primarily concerned with the restoration and conservation of Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere. They have a relatively high level of communication with the LRRT due to shared interest in the area and in developing a wider network of cycle/walkways in the area. WET also has a strong representative function for the community around Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere and therefore has communicated with the LRRT Trust on behalf of that community.

Case Study Twelve: WET Representative

Gender:	Male
Resident near the Rail Trail:	No
Stated interest in Cycling:	Yes

Involvement:	<i>The participant has not worked at WET for very long, however, he is involved with the LRRT through his role there and his work in the community.</i>
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What is the Purpose of the Rail Trail?

When the participant was asked what he thought the purpose of the Rail Trail is he answered, “I guess it’s to provide people with a family, sort of an active family experience I suppose. That’s what I’d sort of think, an experience and a chance to actually view, you know, a new piece of New Zealand”. What this shows is that the participant frames the purpose of the Rail Trail as being firstly recreational in that it provides a cycling facility. He also mentioned the health benefits associated with the public being more active and promoting cycling in a safe environment.

Secondly, for this participant, the LRRT will enable people to appreciate the area and, related to this, raise awareness of the issues surrounding the Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere. For example, the participant stated that the Rail Trail “is getting people into that area that they’re not usually getting into and getting aware of it”. This seems to be a significant aspect of the purpose for this participant, as it is mentioned 12 times throughout the interview.

Finally, the participant identified the economic benefits associated with the Rail Trail, in that it will, from his perspective, have a positive impact on land values as well as providing stimulus for local businesses from the expenditure of Rail Trail users.

Personal Attitude toward the Trail

The participant appears to be supportive of the idea of the Rail Trail on a personal level. When asked what he thinks the Rail Trail is, he stated that he thought it was a great idea and that it was an important way of raising awareness of the Lake and its catchment. He also noted that “I don’t live beside it but I did live beside it I’d think it was cool”. This indicates that he personally supports the LRRT, due to its role in contributing to his work. Finally he stated that, as a cyclist, he would “do a little local wee trail that tourists wouldn’t normally see”.

Dominant Themes

The dominant theme in this interview is Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere. The word ‘lake’ appears 16 times throughout the interview and ‘area’ seven times. The ability of the LRRT to bring people into a little known area and raise awareness of the environmental issues of the Lake is a significant theme, reoccurring throughout the interview. This is not surprising given the participant’s role in restoring and conserving the area but it does indicate that his frame of reference is strongly influenced by his work.

The other dominant theme in this interview is the community, illustrated by the fact that the word appears 7 times throughout the interview. Firstly, the participant frames both WET and the LRRT Trust as community organisations and secondly refers to the local community regularly throughout. This also seems to indicate the impact that the participant’s work has on his personal frame of reference.

What is the Rail Trail?

The participant regularly refers to the LRRT as the Rail Trail, rarely using the word Trail alone. Moreover, he does not make any reference to cycling, although he uses the words bike/biking six times. The word walk does not appear at all, implying that he does not define

the Rail Trail as a walkway. What this indicates is that the participant regards the Rail Trail more as a public access way than specifically as a cycleway or walkway. This definition of the LRRT as a public access way is the most significant element of the participant's frame of reference.

The second main definition of the Rail Trail is as a recreation facility. The participant defined it in this way when he stated that it's "a real positive to have a really neat recreational asset". The interesting point to note here is that although the participant explicitly defined the Rail Trail as a recreation asset, he did not elaborate on this definition, or use it as frequently as the public access way. What this indicates is that although the participant recognises this as way of framing the Rail Trail, he has not integrated it into his personal frame of reference. The way in which he personally frames the Rail Trail remains centred on the Rail Trail as a public access facility.

Summary

The participant frames the Rail Trail as a public access facility, as a way of enabling the public, or specifically families, to access Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere. He emphasised the importance of awareness of the issues surrounding the Lake to being able to make changes and restore and conserve the Lake itself. For this reason, the participant supports the Rail Trail because he frames it as a way of raising awareness of these issues due to people being able to visit this area. The cycling aspect of the Rail Trail is acknowledged by the participant although it seems that he has not integrated this into his particular frame of reference. Concepts of the community and the ecology of the Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere area dominate the interview and have a significant influence over the way in which the participant frames the Rail Trail.

4.10 Documentary Case Study 13: Farmers

Farmers are a significant stakeholder in the LRRT, as outlined in Section 3. However, the interview carried out with a farmer could not be included in this report, as the participant declined to have the interview recorded. However, some documentary evidence exists which can be utilised to demonstrate how farmers in general tend to frame the LRRT. In order to provide a more holistic representation of the diversity of frames, what follows is a brief analysis of this evidence.

Firstly, a section of the minutes from the public meeting held by the LRRT Trust includes issues raised by farmers regarding the LRRT (LRRT Trust, 2006a). These concerns included issues about the activities of Rail Trail users impacting upon their livelihoods, biosecurity, access and litter (LRRT Trust, 2006a). Several of these issues are also reflected in the interviews with participants.

One of the most significant issues reported by the DOC Staff Member 1 as being raised by farmers is the loss of land they previously used. The rail easement has been utilised by farmers for decades for grazing, in particular. With the implementation of the Rail Trail, DOC looked more closely at the boundaries and erected fences to keep stock off the Rail Trail. This has meant that land used by farmers previously was now either fenced off or they now needed to pay leases to use it for grazing. To illustrate, DOC Staff Member 1 stated “the farmers lost a lot of land that they had been used to grazing” and, moreover, in the case of one particular farmer, “he now has a grazing lease over that piece of land. He has had to pay to graze whereas he thought he was buying that out or getting that outright off the previous farmer”. This is clearly a significant negative effect for farmers and would likely have a profound affect on the way in which they framed the LRRT, perhaps leading to quite negative or oppositional personal frames of reference.

It seems likely, from the information provided by the other participants, that the primary way in which farmers frame the LRRT is as a public access facility, or a public right of way. This is because many of the participants indicated that farmers were concerned about such issues as rubbish, fires, burglaries, stock being disrupted or a lack of access across the Trail. These can be summed up in the words of the CCC Consultation Leader as “undesirable behaviour”. Many of the participants noted these issues, including DOC Staff Member 1 and 2, CCC Consultation Leader, LRRT Trust Member, SDC Staff Member and the WET Staff Member. Another issue raised by the WET Staff Member was a concern regarding reverse sensitivity, that farmers were concerned that people passing their farms “wouldn’t be so conducive to carrying out their farming activities, um, they might not want to do that under the eye of the public”. Biosecurity was another issue, indicated by the SDC Staff Member, who noted that farmers had expressed concern to him about international tourists walking the trail with potentially hazardous material on their shoes or clothes.

What this indicates is that the farmers in the area were concerned about the LRRT because it would bring people into an area where they previously had not been. This frames the LRRT as a conduit for people, or a public access way. It is strongly related to the community member's frames of reference, sharing many common elements with concerns about privacy, security and litter. A more in depth study including face to face interviews would be helpful to clarify how this functions more directly. It must be kept in mind that this data is secondary and cannot be triangulated with any primary data, however it does provide an important insight into the way in which many farmers might frame the LRRT. Moreover, the fact that other participants actively sought to manage this frame indicates that it bears a strong relevance, for discussion see Section 5.3



Image 7: Tree beside LRRT

Table One: Purpose

Case	Cycling	Getting People on Bikes	Health Benefits	Economic Growth	Stimulate Tourism	Raise Awareness of Lake issues	Safety	Appropriate Transport	Appreciate the Lake and area
DOC #1	✓					✓			✓
DOC #2		✓	✓				✓		
CCC	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Fish & Game	✓					✓			✓
Little River Res.				✓					
LRRT Trust				✓				✓	✓
Mot. ³ Resident Female	✓	✓		✓			✓		
Mot. Resident Male	✓	✓					✓		
SDC		✓	✓				✓	✓	
Spokes	✓	✓		✓	✓				
Wairewa Runanga					✓	✓			
WET	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓

³ Motukarara

Table Two: Definition

Case	Commuter link	Cycleway	Walkway	Part of Larger Web of Cycleways	Public Access Facility	Recreation Facility	Tourist Attraction	Trail	Multi use Asset
DOC #1		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
DOC #2			✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
CCC	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	
Fish & Game		✓			✓	✓			
Little River Res. Male		✓							
LRRT Trust	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Mot. Res. Female		✓	✓			✓	✓		
Mot. Res. Male		✓					✓		
SDC	✓	✓		✓					✓
Spokes	✓	✓				✓		✓	✓
Wairewa Runanga		✓	✓				✓		
WET		✓		✓	✓	✓			✓

DISCUSSION

From the outset of this research it seemed reasonable to assume that there would be a significant amount of diversity between the ways in which the different participants viewed the LRRT. Moreover, it was thought that there would also be certain ways of framing the Rail Trail that would be held by several of the participants, dominant frames. Finally, it seemed likely that the participants would defend, manage or privilege the frames of reference in particular ways. What follows is a discussion of each of these assumptions.

5.1 Similarities – Dominant Frames

Whilst the diversity of frames was apparent from the earliest interviews, what was also striking was the similarity between many of the frames of reference communicated by the participants. Tables 1 and 2 contain summaries of the ways in which the participants framed the purpose of the Rail Trail, as well as how they defined what it is. These illustrate the common elements of the frames of reference held by many of the 12 participants. Aspects which occurred in only one interview are excluded from the Tables, and some these will be discussed in depth in the discussion of differences. An exhaustive analysis of each of the common elements is neither practical nor particularly useful. However, several of the more dominant common themes are discussed below, in order to illustrate how this dominance functions.

5.1.1 *Cycling – Getting people on bikes*

Cycling is arguably the most dominant theme across all of the interviews conducted for this research. Table 1 reveals that cycling is identified as a significant aspect of the purpose of the Rail Trail by seven participants. Table 2 shows that 11 out of 12 participants defined the Rail Trail, at least in part, as a cycleway.

There are several potential reasons why this might be. Firstly, several of the participants in this study indicated that they believed the LRRT Trust was primarily focussed on creating a cycleway. This is supported by documentary evidence such as a pamphlet produced by the working group formed to investigate the possibility of what is

now know as the LRRT (Christchurch-Little River Cycleway Working Group, n.d.). This working group was the predecessor of what is now known as the LRRT Trust. This entity was called the 'Christchurch-Little River Cycleway Working Group'. The pamphlet outlines the proposal to create a walkway/cycleway and contains a significant section dedicated to explaining the importance of cycling and walking for health and as an alternative form of transport (n.d.). Although the pamphlet contains several references to walking, the name of the initial group does not. This indicates that, from the earliest plans, the cycling element of the Rail Trail dominated the walking aspect.

It is clear from this very early publication, and from the name of the working group, that the initial plan for the LRRT was primarily to create a cycleway. Moreover, the pamphlet indicates that the idea for the LRRT stemmed from three other initiatives, from an idea for a Rail Trail to follow the embankment, from a planned cycleway/walkway between Prebbleton and Lincoln, and from a proposal from the CCC to expand the current cycle network in the district. Arguably, the dominance of cycling as a theme across the interviews is due to the way in which the LRRT has been framed by the instigators, right from its initial stages. This frame has been integrated into the frames of the various stakeholders due to the way in which it has been presented.

Another potential contributor to the dominance of cycling across the participants is the nature of the participants themselves. Half of the participants indicated an interest in cycling which may have resulted in an unintended bias toward framing the LRRT as a cycleway. Another explanation could be that people involved with the Rail Trail are more likely to also be involved in cycling due to, for example, a common interest in the sustainability.

5.1.2 Public Access Facility – Getting people out into the environment

Framing the Rail Trail in terms of its function in enabling people to access the environment, and in particular Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere, is one of the more dominant themes across the interviews. Table 1 shows that six participants framed the LRRT as a public access way, and Table 2 shows that five indicated that they thought the purpose of the Trail involved raising awareness of the Lake issues and/or enabling the public to appreciate the Lake and the area.

In looking at why this particular frame dominates, it is important to note a possible bias in this research in that many of the participants (four out of the 12) were from predominantly environmental organisations. It is possible that this is due to the way in which several participants were selected, by contacting organisations identified by other participants as stakeholders. This may have meant that the sample contains more environmental type organisations than is representative of this particular situation and therefore that this particular theme appears more dominant than it is in reality.

However, it is also important to emphasise the fact that environmental organisations appear to be more likely to become involved in the LRRT. There are a number of reasons for this, for example DOC has a vested interest due to their role in administering a significant proportion of the easement. Moreover, many of the participants from these organisations noted that they regarded the LRRT as an opportunity to promote their interests in the area. Arguably, whilst the sampling methodology may have had some distorting effect, the proportion of environmental organisations represented in the sample is likely to reflect the reality of the situation.

It seems reasonable to suggest then, that the reason the public access frame of reference is dominant across the interviews is the nature of the participants and their particular common interests. This may function in a self-perpetuating manner, in that those organisations with an interest in public access to the environment become involved initially and then, in a sense, recruit likeminded others. This illustrates the way in which a frame of reference, once established, may become more dominant due to the interests of the stakeholders.

5.1.3 Appropriate Transport – Getting people commuting

The appropriate transport frame of reference is closely related to the cycling theme. Table 1 indicates that three of the participants identified appropriate, sustainable transport in terms of the purpose of the Rail Trail and Table 2 shows four of the participants defined the LRRT as a commuter link. Moreover, for those participants who framed the LRRT in this way, it was a substantial part of the way in which they communicated their frame.

It is anticipated that this frame would have been even more significant if more stakeholders from closer to Christchurch, for example, community members from Lincoln or Prebbleton, had been included in the study. During the research, anecdotal evidence pointed to commuting as being a much more significant use of the existing Prebbleton-Lincoln section. This was further evidenced by statistics discussed by the SDC Staff member during his interview, which showed that the section currently running between Prebbleton and Lincoln is utilised equally as often during weekdays as the weekend, whereas the Motukarara to Little River section is utilised much more heavily on weekends than weekdays. Moreover, the four participants who defined the LRRT as a commuter link are all from Christchurch or reside near the current Prebbleton-Lincoln section.

However, this geographical correlation is not the only possible explanation. The SDC and the CCC both strongly emphasised the importance of the alternative transport/commuting aspect of the LRRT. It may be that the Prebbleton-Lincoln section is utilised as a commuter link because this is the way in which it has been promoted. For example, a newsletter produced by the SDC states “this imaginative project...promotes walking and cycling as alternatives to fossil-fuelled transport” (2006). This frames the LRRT as a way of utilising alternative transport, and thereby implies its use involves commuting. Arguably, the way in which the LRRT is promoted could have an impact on the way it is utilised, which would have the effect of producing and perpetuating the dominance of this particular way of framing the Rail Trail.

The commuting/alternative transport frame of reference can be contrasted with the recreation frame of reference, which is also dominant. This alternative way of framing the Rail Trail is widely held, illustrated by Table 2, which shows that 8 participants framed the LRRT as a recreation facility. Moreover, three out of the four participants who framed the Trail as a commuter link also defined it as a recreational asset. This shows that the recreation theme is more dominant, having been integrated even into the frames of those who identify with the alternative transport aspects of the LRRT. This may be due to the fact that large sections of the Trail, which will be more commuter focussed, have not yet been completed and, therefore, the recreational aspects are emphasised. It may also be because, as noted, the sample included more participants from the Little River end of the LRRT, which is much more recreation focussed.

Further research could explore this by engaging with more community members and organisations focussed on the earlier sections of the LRRT.

5.2 Differences – Excluded Frames

The diversity of the ways in which participants framed the LRRT was extremely interesting, particularly when contrasted with the aspects which occurred repeatedly throughout the interviews. Even though difference was expected, the variations were even more clearly evident than anticipated. There were many frames of reference which were communicated by only one participant, and some that were only identified by two. Arguably, these frames were just as valid as any of the dominant frames, but had not been adopted by a wider range of participants. Why this is the case is sometimes immediately apparent, and at other times is more difficult to ascertain. As with the Similarities section, an exhaustive accounting of each difference is impractical, given the limited scope of the research. However, what follows is an analysis of three differences in order to illustrate how this functioned in this context.

5.2.1 Archaeological Site – Railway Heritage Trail

It was anticipated that the railway heritage frame of reference would be relatively widely adopted by participants, given that the LRRT largely follows the old rail way easement, and that the name itself invokes a historical reference. It seems to be strongly identifiable as a historical asset. However, it was striking that only two participants, DOC Staff Member Two and, to a lesser extent, the Wairewa Runanga Representative, voluntarily defined the LRRT as a rail heritage asset. Although the latter briefly mentioned this frame, DOC Staff Member 2 strongly identified with the rail heritage frame, which was evidently influenced by his professional role.

What is less clear, however, is why other participants did not invoke this way of framing the LRRT. Firstly, it may simply be that the interest of this particular participant is not shared by the others. That a frame is not widely held does not automatically mean that it has been excluded in either a deliberate or unintentional fashion. However, evidence from the interviews indicates that the rail heritage frame has been excluded, in particular by the LRRT Trust.

When the LRRT Trust Member was asked why it was called a Rail Trail, he indicated that the focus was on including a wider range of users, which precluded cycle or walkway. He then noted the specific meaning of Rail Trail, and stated “so we are following it [the embankment] fairly closely so um, that was the most appropriate term at the time”. As previously discussed, this answer indicates that the instigators did not have a strong vision for the rail heritage aspect of the Rail Trail. Moreover, the interview seems to indicate that the participant views the heritage aspect as part of the community’s role, in that, when questioned, he answered “I suspect that [the rail heritage aspect] will grow as people take ownership of the various sections”. Evidently, the participant has not integrated the rail heritage aspect into his personal or professional frame of reference, and does not regard it as the role of the LRRT Trust to engage with this particular element. It appears, therefore, that the participant has excluded this frame of reference and that, furthermore, this can be extended to include the Trust more widely.

This is evidenced by two other examples. Firstly, in 2006, the LRRT Trust held a public meeting, the minutes of which are publicly available online (LRRT Trust, 2006a). The stated objectives of this meeting were providing “interested parties with information about the Rail Trail and its progress” (LRRT Trust, 2006a: 2). A DOC staff member was asked to speak about the rail heritage values prior to the night and attended to do so, but was not called upon to speak during the meeting⁴. Therefore, at that meeting the historic values of the LRRT were not presented, although a workshop on rail heritage was included at the end. This implies an exclusion of the historic aspect of the LRRT has occurred in terms of the way in which the LRRT has been publicly framed in a communicative sense.

Secondly, one of the participants recounted the issue of the station gardens. One of the historic stations (Motukarara) has been returned to near its original position and, in order to enhance this, a station garden was planted. There was a significant push for this to be evocative of the historic station gardens, which included European plantings. However, the garden was instead planted with indigenous plants such as native grasses. What this signifies is that the natural values frame of reference has been privileged and the rail heritage frame has been excluded.

⁴ This was reported by one of the participants, and was evidenced by a flier advertising the meeting, which stated that a DOC staff member would speak on the “historic interest” of the area (LRRT, 2006b).

Similarly, in terms of documentary evidence, the rail heritage frame is largely absent from the official website of the LRRT (LRRT Trust, 2007). It is not evident on the main page of this website, but under the 'Information' tab, there is another tab named 'History'. Interestingly, the first, and larger, section is dedicated to the history of the Rail Trail. This is followed by a short summary of the history of the Railway. Although, in this instance, the rail heritage aspect of the LRRT is acknowledged, the brevity of this mention further indicates the exclusion of this element from the way in which the LRRT Trust's frame of reference is publicly communicated.

However, it is important to draw attention to a book was written by Farrell (2006), which was produced for the LRRT Trust. It deals extensively with the history of the area, the railway and includes a section on Māori history. This is an example of the Trust publicly communicating the rail heritage frame of reference. Nonetheless, this must be balanced with a statement directly from the LRRT Trust at the end of the book which notes that the work of the Trust is "planning, promoting and establishing an off road cycleway/walkway from Christchurch to Little River" (Farrell, 2006: 43). Again, this excludes the rail heritage frame by eliminating the words 'Rail Trail'.

The evidence suggests, then, that the rail heritage frame of reference has largely been marginalised by the instigators of the LRRT. This is significant because the way in which it is framed by this group has a strong influence on how it is framed by other groups. It may explain why the other participants have not included the heritage element in how they have communicated their frames. Why the Trust has excluded the rail heritage frame has not be ascertained, and this would certainly be extremely difficult, if not impossible. Furthermore, whether this is 'right' or 'wrong' is beyond the scope of this research. What is of primary interest is that it has occurred. How this has been managed has been briefly explored and will be investigated in more depth in Section 5.3.

5.2.2 Telling Stories

Closely related to the heritage frame is the 'telling stories' frame enacted by the Wairewa Runanga Representative and discussed in Case Study 11. Defining the LRRT as a way of sharing the stories of Māori heritage in the area was a significant aspect of

this participant's frame of reference and was strongly emphasised throughout the interview. However, none of the other participants voluntarily framed the LRRT in this way. Again the question arises as to whether this is simply an interest not shared by the other participants or whether the frame has been deliberately excluded.

There is significant Māori history in the area, as the Wairewa Runanga Representative points out throughout his interview. However, arguably this aspect is not as explicitly related to the nature of the LRRT project as the railway heritage element. For this reason it would be more arguable that the frame is less dominant simply because this particular aspect is not related to the interests of the other participants or, more widely, the other stakeholders. However, whilst this may be true, Māori heritage must surely be a significant part of the interests of stakeholders such as the SDC and CCC, as well as DOC. It is important, then, to look at why the Māori heritage/story telling frame has not been incorporated into those participant's frames of reference.

Both the DOC Staff Member 1 as well as the LRRT Trust Member mentioned the importance of the area to the Runanga, but both indicated that they felt it was up to the Runanga to articulate this aspect of the LRRT. For example, when asked about the Māori heritage of the LRRT, the LRRT Trust Member answered, "they've got, um, a vision that has, ah, a whole lot of, um, aspects of, um, telling those stories and connecting with people through interpretation along the edge of the lake. And from our point of view yeah that's great; it's part of what makes the whole experience". This statement implies that the participant acknowledges the Māori heritage frame, but has not integrated it into his personal frame of reference, in other words, that he has excluded it from his frame of reference.

The DOC Staff Member 1 did not comment specifically on the Māori history/telling stories frame of reference. She referred to the Māori heritage only in terms of the specific section administered by the Wairewa Runanga. The implication is that she is aware of the frame, but regards it as belonging to the Runanga. She did not discuss it in reference to herself. What this suggests is that the participant has not included it in the way in which she personally communicates her frame of reference.

The SDC and the CCC representatives might have been expected to mention this aspect, given that local government has a responsibility to consider Tangata Whenua issues in

relation to development. However, neither of the participants commented specifically on any issues surrounding Māori heritage/story telling or the Runanga. This may be because both the SDC and the CCC defined the LRRT in terms of its value to sustainable alternative transport and as a commuter link. This way of framing the LRRT in effect precludes the recreational aspects of the Trail, where the rail heritage aspects and the Māori heritage aspects are more likely to arise. Thus, this frame is excluded, in a sense, by way of the nature of the particular ways in which these participants framed the LRRT.

To summarise, it seems evident that the Māori heritage/story telling frame of reference has been excluded, rather than simply being extraneous to other participants' interests. This has occurred in the first instance because participants did not see this element as being related to their roles. Secondly, it has been excluded because the way in which the participants framed the LRRT precluded these aspects. Finally, it is important to note that this exclusion may also be related to a larger process of marginalisation, as the Wairewa Runanga Representative noted, "you know Maori input in the landscape is diminished and you just don't have that control or have that chance to impact".

5.2.3 Privacy/Bad Element

The two themes outlined above were examples of ways of framing that were communicated by only one or two participants. However, other frames occurred more frequently among certain participants but there was strong evidence to show that they had been excluded by other participants. In this case, the issue was not so much why a frame was not more prevalent, but why it was communicated by certain participants and not by others. The privacy/bad element frame is an example of this.

A concern about privacy was a relatively strong theme, in particular for the community members interviewed, including the LR Resident, and both male and female Motukarara Residents. Moreover, the WET Staff Member also mentioned concerns about privacy, which can be explained by the fact that he identifies part of his role as representing the community surrounding Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere. All of these participants also identify a related issue, that the LRRT will bring a 'bad element' into their communities. This way of talking about the Rail Trail frames it as a conduit for people,

in that the participants were concerned that increased numbers of people would lower the privacy amenity as well as potentially introduce outsiders with contradictory values.

Examples of this can be seen in the interview with the female Motukarara Resident, who stated, regarding privacy, “it’s inviting the New Zealand bike community and the world at large into our community [laughs] and I think that it’s more than people were bargaining for when they moved out to the middle of nowhere outside of Christchurch”. In terms of bringing in a ‘bad element’, the male Motukarara resident noted, “I’m just thinking it’s just inviting people that don’t get the lifestyle to come out here and take it from us but that’s very negative and conspiratorial but yeah that’s, that’s what I’m fearing yeah”. Both of these quotes illustrate the way in which the community members framed the LRRT, in terms of its potential to draw people into the area, in a negative way.

This frame of reference is referred to by other participants, but in a way which actively excludes it. For example, the LRRT Trust Member stated, “There are a lot of...um....concerns raised...about all the things that were going to happen...and you know the....amazing the.....thuggish behavior of families cycling along it....you know they were going to set fire to peoples um....implement sheds and....um....lay waste to the land and gun down their stock and all the rest of it....um....hasn’t materialized”. Whilst the participant acknowledges the privacy/bad element frame, he excludes it by implying that it is invalid. Likewise, the SDC Staff Member noted, “a negative impact is the reaction from immediate property owners but most of those have been dispelled I think um I mean to say security was one of them ...experience had shown through the other Trails around the country that um you know you don’t have that sort of thing [burglaries, arson] happening”. In the same way, the privacy/bad element frame is acknowledged, but marginalized.

It is not difficult to speculate on why this frame might be excluded, particularly by the LRRT Trust and the Councils. Primarily, this may be due to the fact that this way of framing the LRRT represents a challenge. Rather than framing it as a positive or as an asset, it frames it as a negative. Not only are these values not shared by the participants who have effectively excluded the frame, but the values are in opposition.

5.3 Frame Management

Frame management refers to the discursive strategies that participants used to defend, exclude or privilege particular ways of framing the LRRT. What follows is a discussion of three of these strategies to illustrate the way in which frames were managed in the context of an interview. Participants were often asked questions which presented a potential challenge to their frame, for example, questions regarding the negative impact of the LRRT. The way in which they responded may illustrate some of the strategies that they employ. Moreover, the way in which participants talked about other frames will also demonstrate frame management strategies.

5.3.1 *Invoking past success*

One of the most significant themes that appeared in terms of frame management strategies was invoking the Otago Central Rail Trail (OCRT). Seven out of the 12 participants mentioned the OCRT in their interview, which indicates how prevalent this frame management strategy is. The OCRT was opened in 2000 (OCRT, 2007) and has been widely hailed in the media as a ‘saviour’ of many Central Otago towns. For example, in an article entitled *Riding the Revival Trail*, Sinclair writes “more than a decade on and the doubters are benefiting from what is frequently dubbed Otago’s 21st century gold rush” (2008).

The OCRT is often invoked in order to manage opposition in the form of issues that potentially frame the LRRT in a negative way. For example, when commenting on complaints that the LRRT will decrease land values, DOC Staff Member 1 stated, “its been shown on the Central Otago that land close to the Rail Trail goes up in value”. Moreover, several participants referred to the OCRT as a way of privileging their own frame. For example, the LRRT Trust member, when framing the Rail Trail as initiating community development, stated “you only need to look at the transformation of ghost town to thriving metropolis that has occurred along the Central Otago to understand just how dramatic that can be”.

This strategy has also been utilized in a more public sense, in that a community member from Central Otago was invited to speak at the public meeting held by the LRRT Trust. The minutes record this section as “Central Otago Land Owners Experience”. It states,

“He [the landowner] could only see problems but it was not long before he saw the benefits of the local community” (LRRT Trust, 2006a: 4). Whilst this statement does not explicitly address any oppositional frames of reference, it implies that, like this landowner, those who oppose the LRRT will eventually see the benefits. The effect of this is that oppositional frames are marginalized and the ‘LRRT as a community asset’ frame is privileged.

This strategy is recognised by several of the participants, for example, the LR Resident noted, “it comes up often you know, look at the Middlemarch experience, look at Middlemarch” (referring to a town on the OCRT route). It works by equating the OCRT and the LRRT. It ignores any differences between the two and works on the assumption that the LRRT will follow the same trajectory as the OCRT. In this way, frames are managed by equating the project with a highly successful project. By invoking the success of the OCRT, despite initial opposition to it, the participant frames the LRRT in a way that makes it difficult to critique it. In a sense it frames the LRRT as beyond reproach.

5.3.2 *Discrediting other frames*

Another common strategy for excluding oppositional frames is the claim that the negatives are outweighed by the positives or that problems are perceived and don’t eventuate. Several participants (DOC Staff Members 1 and 2, Fish and Game Staff Member, LRRT Trust Member and SDC Staff Member) utilized this strategy when discussing negative impacts or aspects of the LRRT. The SDC Staff Member, for example, stated, “those issues can be managed and they haven’t been a problem”. Similarly, DOC Staff Member 2 argued, “There’s more positive ones [impacts] than there are negative I mean you get the people out there into this beautiful environment”. These examples illustrate the way in which claims makers respond to challenges to their ways of framing the LRRT.

This strategy works by discrediting opposition. It is somewhat more subtle than an approach that simply disregards or ignores oppositional frames in that it acknowledges their existence. However, this makes it even more powerful and it has a similar effect in that it effectively undermines any opposing arguments.

As well as undermining opposing arguments, this strategy privileges the individual's own frame. In effect it puts boundaries around their frame so that others cannot critique it. In this sense it functions in a similar way to the OCRT frame management strategy outlined above, in that it subtly frames the LRRT in a way that precludes opposition.

It is important to note that this strategy was also used significantly in the reverse, by participants who framed the LRRT in a more negative sense. Two of the participants (LR Community Member and Motukarara Community Member Male) utilized this strategy to undermine the frame that the LRRT will encourage economic growth. They both argued that cyclists by nature are unlikely to spend money in the townships and therefore the LRRT is unlikely to result in significant economic benefits. Both acknowledged that the LRRT had been framed in this way, but proceeded to discredit this position in order to strengthen their own. It is evident that this was another example of this frame management strategy being invoked in order to privilege their personal frame of reference and exclude oppositional frames.

5.3.3 Managing competing frames: pejorative framing

The two examples above demonstrate the ways in which participant's managed opposition frames. However, strategies also existed to managing competing frames. This was primarily managed by implying that competing frames or uses of the Rail Trail were less 'right' to varying degrees. This effectively associated moral values with particular frames and uses and was invoked by several participants, including the LRRT Trust Member, DOC Staff Member 1 and the SDC Staff Member. These participants emphasized their particular frames whilst simultaneously framing others as, at best, sub optimal and, at worst, wrong.

For example, the DOC Staff Member noted that another government group had been utilizing the LRRT for public works. She also mentioned that barriers had been erected to prevent cars using the Trail. On both occasions these alternative uses for the LRRT were framed as being wrong and had, in fact, been curtailed by DOC. Another example of this is the SDC, who passed a bylaw preventing the public from riding horses on the Prebbleton-Lincoln section. This legislation is an example of a response to a perceived 'wrong' use of the LRRT and a powerful example of a non discursive enactment of this frame management strategy.

Finally, the LRRT Trust Member noted that the Trust functioned as ‘keepers of the vision’. The participant noted that “different groups have different motivations” and that, therefore, “basically there’s, um, a power of veto that sits with the Trust to just sort of say, ‘well hang on guys, what you’re talking about here isn’t actually the complete vision, it’s only part of it’”. The participant is not excluding other frames outright, but implies that they are not the whole vision, or the correct vision. He argues that this is important because of the limited resources available.

This frame management strategy is utilized by participants to manage competing frames. This functions slightly differently from the other examples because it deals with discursive and non discursive framing and management. In a sense, using the LRRT is also a way of framing it, in an active rather than discursive manner. The strategy functions in much the same manner as the previous examples in that they enable participants to protect their frame of reference whilst simultaneously marginalizing other frames. Moreover, it is particularly concerned with the power to define what the LRRT is and therefore, how it should be utilized. This enables the participant’s to acquire a greater share of limited resources as well as to achieve their particular goals.

Like the previous example, participants who held negative frames of reference also utilized this strategy in order to strengthen their positions. This is particularly evident in discussions about the proposed route into Little River. Both the Wairewa Runanga Representative and the LR Community Member discussed this issue, arguing that the ‘right’ route was for the LRRT to follow the eastern side of the highway. For example, the LR Community Member stated that they are “trying to in some ways make them take the better option. [Laughs] why would they want to do anything else?”. This implies that there is a good and a bad option, which simultaneously privileges his personal frame of reference whilst framing the competing frame in a pejorative way. In this case the competing frame is also, in a sense, oppositional, which demonstrates that this strategy may also be utilized in this way.

CONCLUSIONS: HOW TO USE THIS RESEARCH

6.1 Summary of Findings

This research found that there was a significant diversity present in the way in which participants framed the LRRT. It was thought that this would be the case, but the extent to which it appeared throughout the interviews was much greater than anticipated. It was interesting to note that different participants could be talking about the same project, but framing it in very different ways. Perhaps the best illustration of this would be that, in particular, two participants stated that they did not call it the LRRT. Instead, they referred to it in ways that were more appropriate to the way in which they framed it on a personal and professional level. For example, the SDC referred to the Trail as a commuter link rather than as the LRRT. This is because, for this organisation, and for this participant, the section they are involved with functions primarily as a commuter link. Furthermore, on a more pragmatic level, in order to get funding the SDC needed to frame it in this way. Likewise, the Wairewa Runanga utilised the term Te Ara A Tutekawa, due to the fact that the Trail presented an opportunity to tell the stories of Māori heritage in the region.

It was also interesting to find a significant difference within stakeholder groups, particularly demonstrated by the two DOC staff interviewed. Although there were common elements, the ways in which each of these participants framed the LRRT was fundamentally different. What this indicates is that there is significant within group diversity, and that it should not be assumed that consulting one representative is sufficient to comprehend the way in which that group frames an issue or problem more widely.

As well as diversity, it was also interesting how many frames of reference appeared repeatedly across the interviews. Participants with quite different roles and interests framed the LRRT in similar ways. What this demonstrated was the way in which particular ways of framing become dominant as they were adopted and reproduced by more and more claims makers. These dominant frames of interest functioned discursively to exclude other frames as well as privilege their position. The frames themselves acted in discursively powerful ways, but the participants also utilised frame

management strategies in order to establish their particular frame and, in the process, marginalise other frames.

One of the major findings of this research is that frames are related both to the nature of the project itself and to the interests of the participants. Many of the more dominant themes, such as cycling, were related to both. However, frames that were related to the nature of the project and not to the interests of the dominant stakeholders, such as rail heritage, were marginalised. This relationship is not uni-directional, firstly in that the interests of dominant stakeholders have a significant influence on what the project will be. Secondly, key stakeholders are likely to recruit likeminded others, which further intensifies the dominance of those shared interests or frames. It seems that, arguably, the interests of the stakeholders have a much more significant impact upon which frames dominate than the nature of the project itself.

As discussed in Section 3.6, it is not within the scope of this analysis to establish motivation but the aim was rather to investigate how problem or issue framing functions. Moreover, the analysis is not seeking to allocate moral values to particular frames or to decide how the LRRT should be framed. For example, it is not the role of this research to decide whether the LRRT should be framed as a cycleway or as a platform for sharing the stories of Māori heritage in the area. This analysis would be considered successful if it provided information that was utilised by the stakeholders themselves to establish a consensus or, more significantly, to perhaps encourage a complimentary and equitable coexistence of a diverse range of frames.

Moreover, it should not be assumed that framing is an intentional process in that participants were deliberately attempting to exclude other frames, in a conspiratorial sense. For example, the analysis of the ‘discrediting other frames’ strategy, employed by many of the participants, cannot establish whether or not the participants intended to discredit other frames. What the analysis demonstrates is the way in which those strategies function where they are utilised and what the result of those strategies are.

It seemed at the outset that the LRRT would provide an excellent case study to investigate the extent to which problem framing could be applied in a community development context. This has proven to be correct, given that the analysis was able to demonstrate the diversity of frames present in the context as well as reveal which were

dominant and which excluded. Moreover, the framework was able to establish a variety of frame management strategies, which were utilised in different ways by all of the different participants.

6.2 Wider Significance

The significance of this research is its application to the wider development context. What it illustrates is that different stakeholders are also claims makers and that each may frame the same project, issue or problem in radically different ways. These diverse frames may be difficult to perceive, particularly when all of the stakeholders use similar language when referring to the issue.

Moreover, it indicates that discursive frame management strategies may be difficult to recognise, but that they are particularly powerful and function in ways that privilege particular frames and exclude others. This is important, because framing has a significant impact upon how a project is conceived, managed and implemented or how a problem is solved.

The nature of the project and the interests of the stakeholders are both important in terms of their ability to shape how framing occurs. However, of the two, the interests of the stakeholders are of primary significance. The implication of this is that the interests of each stakeholder must be understood as well as the particular ways this relates to their frame. Moreover, the personal and professional interests of individual stakeholders both have an impact upon how that stakeholder will frame an issue. This is important because large groups of people are often represented by one person, who is also subject to his or her own personal frame of reference.

It seems likely that many development professionals are aware of these issues in an implicit sense. Notably, several of the participants in this case study mentioned that different people have different perspectives. However, in order to achieve a holistic understanding of a particular project, issue or problem, it is important that an analysis take place in a more structured and intentional manner. To this end, it may be helpful for development professionals be made more aware of the possibilities of utilising a framing analysis to investigate particular contextual issues, either through further publication and research or through specific training.

6.3 Future Research

There were several issues discussed in the literature review that were not able to be investigated in this research. Firstly, the different frames that an individual may inhabit due to different roles was not analysed in any great depth. Secondly, the way in which frames change across time is another aspect which did not surface in any of the interviews. Thirdly, this research focussed on the discursive aspects of framing; however, framing can occur in more active ways as well. Future research could focus on these elements of issue framing in a development context in order to better comprehend the dynamic nature of problem framing.

Moreover, although the research was able to apply the framing analysis to a community development case study, it is imperative that future research applies this analysis in a less developed country context. This would be useful in order to demonstrate how a framing analysis might work in different environments as well as revealing how framing itself functions differently in a developing country context.

Framing is an important construct because it enables an analysis that seeks to comprehend difference in a dynamic way as well as providing a significant investigation of discursive power in terms of frames that dominant and exclude. It is also an important tool for providing insights into how diverse stakeholders understand the same issue. These insights enable a more holistic and representative understanding of projects, issues and problems that are complex and dynamic. It is hoped that better understanding can lead to better practise and therefore enhance development practitioners' ability to facilitate positive, contextual and equitable solutions.

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